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The Hakluyt Society.

REPORT FOR 1889.

SINCE the publication of our last Report we have had to deplore the loss of Sir Henry Yule, for many years President of the Society. Besides the works he edited for our series, (MARVELS DESCRIBED BY FRIAR JORDANUS; CATHAY AND THE WAY THITHER, 2 vols.; and the DIARY OF WILLIAM HEDGES, 3 vols.), he revised and assisted in several of our recent volumes. His learning in all that concerned the geography of the East and his remarkable memory made his work very valuable.

Shortly before his death he sent for Mr. Clements Markham, and expressed the wish that he should succeed him in the office of President. Mr. Markham kindly consented to undertake these duties, and was duly elected at a meeting of Council on November 27th, 1889. A graceful compliment was thus paid to one who has worked more for the Society than anybody else during the many years he held the post of Honorary Secretary.

We have also to mention with sincere regret the death of Mr. P. A. Tiele, of Utrecht, who, upon the decease of the late Dr. Coke Burnell, completed the editing of LINSCHOTEN'S VOYAGE.

The Congress of Orientalists, held at Stockholm and Christiania in 1889, afforded an opportunity to our Council of presenting a set of the Society's works to King Oscar II, Honorary President of that Congress. His Majesty was graciously pleased to accept this gift, and to express his satisfaction in adding these books to his Royal Library.

The destruction by fire of the Toronto University, when the whole of its valuable collection of books was entirely destroyed, led to an appeal being made to the learned Societies in this and other countries to come forward with gifts of their publications. The Council of the Hakluyt Society, recognising the claims so worthy an object had upon its generosity, and taking into consideration that this University was among the oldest of its subscribers, authorised the presentation of a set of its works to the Restoration Committee. This was accordingly done, and a grateful acknowledgment has been received by the Hon. Secretary.

The Council is glad to be able to announce that the following works have been undertaken: A new edition (the first being out of print) of Sir R. Schomburghk's RALEIGH'S EMPIRE OF GUIANA, edited by Mr. Everard Im Thurn, of British Guiana; THE LETTERS OF PIETRO DELLA VALLE, transcribed from the early English version by G. Havers (1665), and edited by Mr. Edward Grey, late of the Indian Civil Service; THE TRUE HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF NEW SPAIN, by Bernal Diaz, translated from the Spanish and edited by Rear-Admiral Lindesay Brine; THE VOYAGE OF ULRICH SCHMIDT TO LA PLATA, translated from the original German edition (1567); and the COMMENTARIES OF CABEZA DE VACA, GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF LA PLATA, translated from the original Spanish edition (Valladolid 1555)—the two last edited by Don Luis L. Dominguez, Argentine Minister to the Court of St. James's, are in progress—

and the VOYAGE OF FRANÇOIS LEGUAT TO THE ISLAND OF RODRIGUEZ, edited by Captain S. P. Oliver (nearly ready).

The following Members retire from Council:

Mr. CECIL S. FOLJAMBE, M.P.,
Mr. E. BURNE JONES, A.R.A., and
Mr. TYSSEN AMHERST, M.P.

The following are elected in their place:

Professor E. B. TYLER, D.C.L.,
Dr. ROBERT BROWN, M.A., Ph.D., and
Mr. E. A. PETHERICK.

The Statement of Accounts shows a balance of £235 16*s.* 11*d.* The number of Subscribers is 278.

N.B.—The election of Mr. Markham to the Presidency leaves another vacancy on the Council not yet filled.

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 1889. Cr.

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward from last year's Report	291	19	3
Subscriptions	224	14	0
Arrears	7	7	0
Sales of back volumes, including five sets	143	2	3
	£677	2	6

	£	s.	d.
Banker's charge	0	0	6
Agent's account, including rent of store	42	14	8
Advertising	1	16	6
Illustrations for Hedges' Diary, vols. ii and iii ...	18	11	11
Prætorius, for portrait of Mrs. Pitt	3	10	0
Autotype Co., for portrait of Elihu Yale	5	13	9
Transcriptions for Mr. Sparling's work	8	0	0
Prætorius, engraving Molyneux Celestial Globe ...	5	5	0
Captain Oliver, for transcriptions	10	0	0
Petty Cash	10	0	0
Messrs. Whiting & Co., for printing, etc.	311	3	3
Mr. Weller, for lithographing map of Western Europe	6	10	0
Mr. Griggs, for 20 plates of Leguat's Voyage ...	18	0	0
Balance	235	16	11
	£677	2	6

PETTY CASH.

			£	s.	d.
1888.					
Jan. 1.	To Balance		0	9	0
Apr. 16.	Cash of R. B. Hawkins for copy of the Hawkins Voyage		0	15	0
1889.					
June 7.	Cheque		10	0	0
		£11	4	0	

			£	s.	d.
1888.					
Apr. 2.	By an imperfect copy of North-west Fox, for Mr. M. Christy		1	10	0
Dec. 9.	„ Stamps		0	5	0
1889.					
Mar. 9.	„ paid Mr. Reeves for drawing Chart ...		6	0	0
Apr. 15.	„ paid Mr. Wilkinson, photographer ...		1	0	0
„ 20.	„ Stationery		0	12	6
June 7.	„ an imperfect copy of Captain James' Voyage, for Mr. M. Christy		0	4	0
Aug. 27.	„ paid Mr. Prætorius, preparing specimen gore of Molyneux Terrestrial Globe ...		1	0	0
Sept. 1.	„ Stamps		0	5	0
Nov. 27.	„ Balance		0	7	6
		£11	4	0	

Examined and approved,

CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM.
ALBERT GRAY.

THE VOYAGE

OF

FRANÇOIS PYRARD

OF LAVAL

TO THE EAST INDIES, THE MALDIVES, THE MOLUCCAS AND BRAZIL.

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TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH FROM THE THIRD FRENCH EDITION OF 1619, AND EDITED, WITH NOTES,

BY ALBERT GRAY,

FORMERLY OF THE CEYLON CIVIL SERVICE.

ASSISTED

BY H. C. P. BELL,

OF THE CEYLON CIVIL SERVICE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II, PART II.

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WORKS ISSUED BY

The Hakluyt Society.

THE VOYAGE

OF

FRANCOIS PYRARD.

No. LXXX.

COUNCIL

OF

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E. DELMAR MORGAN, Honorary Secretary.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

VOL. I.

P. 160, Note 1, for "A.D. 1677" read "A.D. 1585-6".

P. 347, Note 2. Here and elsewhere the 11th Decade of De Couto is referred to. As is well-known, this Decade is lost, and the reference should be to the volume substituted from contemporaneous sources by the editor of the edition of 1778. (See also vol. ii, p. 509, note 1.)

VOL. II, PART 1.

P. 22, line 12 from bottom, after "Father", read "by name Gaspar Aleman".

VOL. II, PART 2.

P. 305, line 17 from top, after "Corbin", read "a man of St. Malo".

P. 306, line 8 from top, after "When", read "after six days".

P. 322, line 13 from bottom, for "the Bay", read "this condition".

P. 324, line 16 from top, after "sons", read "the one 25 and the other 20 years of age".

P. 332, first line, the text reads "Teretra", for "Terceira".

P. 336, line 11 from top, for "being", read "lying".

P. 348, line 2 from top, for "wherein to", read "whereinto".

P. 355, Heading to Chap. V, for "*Musk*", read "*Nutmegs*".

P. 363, Note 1, for "*inda*", read "*inḍa*".

P. 369, Note 2, for "*aha-gaha*", read "*ahu-gaha*".

P. 372. This chapter is not numbered in the original text.

P. 406, Note 1, for "1821", read "1835-6".

P. 407, line 23 from top, for "*furana*", read "*furána*".

„ „ 28 from top, for "*gahá*", read "*gaha*".

„ „ 33 from top, for "*nahat*", read "*nahaṙ*".

„ „ 34 from top, after "mute", read "with sound of short *i*".

„ „ 4 from bottom, for "*elipan*", read "*elipán*".

P. 408, line 10 from top, after "*vaharé*", read "also *váré*".

„ „ 12 from top, for "visárį", read "*visarí*".

„ „ 16 from top, for "*rœ*", read "*rœ̃*".

„ „ 19 from top, for "*rœ-baga*", read "*rœ̃-bágę*".

„ „ 23 from top, for "*maddhyáma*", read "*madhyana*".

„ „ 18 from bottom, for "*iyé*", read "*iyę́*".

„ „ 8 from bottom, for "*Aditiya*", read "*Áditiya*".

P. 409, line 4 from top, after "*eli-velá*", read "*eli-vechcha*".

„ „ 6 from top, after "*rœ̃-velá*", read "*rœ̃-vejja* and *rœ̃-vechcha*".

P. 409, line 25 from top, for "*rajya*", read "*rájya*".
„ „ 26 from top, for "*ho*", read "*hó*".
„ „ 15 from bottom, for "*miripœnna*", read "*miripœn*".
„ „ 11 from bottom, for "*varu-diya*", read "*vœhi-diya*".
„ „ 9 from bottom, for "*múdé-kara*", read "*mudu-karā*".
P. 410, line 22 from bottom, for "*bakalaya*", read "*bakalāyá*, a bandy-legged animal".
„ „ 20 from bottom, for "*míyá*", read "*míya*".
„ „ 19 from bottom, after "civet-cat", read "cf. Sin. *yabáduva*".
P. 411, line 6 from top, after "*karhi*", add in last col. "cf. Sansk. *nárikela* and *nálikera*".
„ „ 16 from bottom, for "*pœnidodan*", read "*pœnidodan*".
„ „ 9 from bottom, for "*naran-gedi*", read "*náran-yedi*".
„ „ 5 from bottom, for "*ran*", in last col., read "*ran*".
P. 412, first line, last col., add "cf. Sansk. *tamara*".
„ line 17 from top, for "*mangi*", read "*nangi*".
„ „ 19 from top, last col., insert "cf. Sin. *Ambu*".
„ „ 20 from top, after "*pirimi*" add "also *puris*".
P. 413, line 3 from top, for "*kóllá, kellá, kelli*", read "*kollú, kella, keli*", and *dele* rest of note.
„ „ 7-8 from top, Sin. *tamun* prop. = themselves.
„ line 17 from bottom, for "*rodra*", read "*raudra*".
„ „ 12 from bottom, for "*Wastadu*", read "*Wastádu*"
P. 414, line 9 from top, for "*Hœmini*", read "*Hamini*".
„ „ 21 from bottom, for "*anga*", read "*aṅga*".
„ „ 16 from bottom, for "*vèdi*", read "*veḍi*".
P. 415, line 7 from top, Sin. petta = leaf or slice.
„ „ 11 from top, for "*néfat*", read "*néfai*".
„ „ 20 from bottom, in 3rd col., for "*dat*", read "*daṭ*".
„ „ 4 from bottom, for "heart", read "breast".
P. 416, line 3 from top, for "*puduva*", read "*puḍuva*".
„ „ 5 from top, after "*hada*", read "also *hita*"
„ „ 15 from top, for "*pilí*", read "*pili*".
„ „ 15 from bottom, add "also Sin. *kittan*".
P. 417, line 14 from top, for "*góma*", read "*goma*".
„ „ 19 from top, dele "Cf. Sin. *kasá*, sulphur".
„ „ 21 from top, add "also Sin. *rasa*, quicksilver".
„ „ 17 from bottom, in last col., read "Sin. *niyaṃuvá*, pilot".
P. 418, line 4 from bottom, for "tail", read "plough".
P. 421, for "*eka-vis*", read "*eká-vís*".
„ „ "*ba-vis*", read "*bá-vís*".
„ „ "*ona-tiris*", read "*ona-tiris*".
„ „ "*et-tiris*", read "*et-tiris*".
„ against 42, read "*ba-yális*", then "etc."
„ against 47, read "*hat-ális*".
P. 444, Note 1, for "*Kotté*", read "*Kotṭé*".
P. 509, Note 1, for "the above reference is", read "the subsequent references are".

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SECOND PART

OF THE

VOYAGE OF FRANÇOIS PYRARD,

FROM HIS ARRIVAL AT GOA TO HIS RETURN TO FRANCE.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Return of the author.—The island of Diego Rodrigue sighted.—Fearful storm.—Pitiable occurrences.—The land of Natal.—The Cape of Good Hope.—Tempests and calms.

NINE or ten days after leaving port we sighted three sail coming from the direction of Arabia towards the Maldives; we were then in the latitude of the head of these islands, which is about 8 degrees this side the line toward the north. The Portuguese, at sight of these vessels, took fright, believing them to be Hollanders. Nor were we ourselves without grave qualms, being in the company of these fellows, some of whom said that if the sail proved to be Hollanders they should throw us overboard; others, however, with more pity, said that it was no fault of ours. Those who had been in the Hollanders' hands, and had been badly treated, as the majority had, were so much the more incensed against us, and were with difficulty appeased. In the event, we failed to make out what the ships were, though I judged they belonged to the Maldives, and were coming from Arabia, or perhaps were Arabs going to Sunda,

Sumatra, and Java. And so the Portuguese were again at ease, and we also.

On the 15th March 1610 we sighted the island of *Diego Rodrigue*,[1] which is at the altitude of 20 degrees south of the equinoctial line, and about 40 leagues east from the island of St. Lawrence. We sighted it at break of day; it is uninhabited.

While in view of this island we experienced so heavy and violent a storm that we could hardly carry our lower sails. The wind was dead against us and drove us on the island, so that we had some difficulty in weathering it. And much did we apprehend to meet our end there, and with good reason, seeing that the sea was so heavy and tempestuous, the wind so violent and contrary, and we driven so close upon an unknown island. Most of the shrouds both of the mainmast and of the foremast began to give, thereby causing us great anxiety, for these shrouds are the cordage and tackling that hold and stay the mast, which without them would not stand upright and steady a single hour. In this storm a good mariner fell overboard, and it being impossible to save him, he was drowned.

The storm, after raging for the space of five days, at length passed away and left our ship leaking badly. Our master, fearing that as we coasted the land of Natal and rounded the Cape of Good Hope we should meet other storms, as is usual in those parts, ordered all the cannon, as also the boat, to be taken below, and the ship to be girt with cables in three places, viz., at the poop, midships, and bows. These

[1] Diego Rodriguez, in lat. 19° 41′ S., long. 63° 23′ E., is now a British possession, as a dependency of Mauritius; pop. in 1881, 1,436, chiefly descendants of slaves. It is chiefly famous as the habitat of the extinct bird, the solitaire (*Pezophaps solitarius*), which died out with its Mauritius cousin, the dodo, about the end of the seventeenth century. The only representation of it is in a cut in Leguat, a copy of which is given in the *Encyc. Brit.* (9th edition, art. "Birds"). Recently a good many skeletons have been discovered in the limestone.

cables grip the ship all round on the outside and under the keel, and, being brought up, are joined with two or three turns and then made fast by capstans: they hold the vessel well together. It is with these cables belayed to the anchors that the vessel rides when at anchor: this method of lashing the ship is called *Vater*.[1] Some days after this storm an Indian Metice lady, the wife of a Portuguese lord, who was also on board, a handsome woman aged about thirty, was brought to bed; both she and her child died, and got no other burial but to be cast overboard. Soon after I saw another piteous accident befall one of the apprentices, who was, one fine day, as usual on the main-top. There being a heavy swell but no wind, the vessel was rolling from side to side as though she would capsize, and this poor boy, in a heedless moment, falling upon the deck was dashed to pieces and killed in a moment.

At length we skirted the land of Natal, and met with no storm until on the 8th of April 1610 we sighted the Cape of Good Hope.

As we neared the Cape it became bitterly cold, with much snow, frost, and thick fogs. These caused us intolerable distress, for we had been so long in India that we had forgotten what it was to be cold; moreover, we had only light garments of cotton and silk, with nothing to keep out the cold and rain; and the seas so continually and in such volume swept in upon us that frequently I was as thoroughly soaked as if I had just emerged from the deep sea: and though these cold and wet garments chilled us to the bone, we had to let them dry upon us. Nor had I a place to get under cover, nor any change of clothes or linen. At times indeed we got fairly warmed by working at the pumps and the buckets, and by doing other services; otherwise we had died of cold. Nor had we too much to eat—that is, we foreigners;

[1] Perhaps the Fr. *bâter*, to put a pack-saddle on an animal; the word is not given in Jal's *Gloss. Naut.*

on the other hand, in the matter of thirst we were a trifle better off in the cold weather, for the water was like ice to the mouth and teeth, and so far was better to the palate. But I cannot describe all the hardships and misery we endured in that Cape passage. Among others, one day, near the Cape, a strong and violent gale struck us and split our great yard in twain: this gave us much trouble and labour, for the Portuguese are not properly equipped with rigging, materials, or with good tackling, or with ropes and other furniture, as are the French and Hollanders, so that when any accident happens to their ships they are grievously thwarted.

During this gale also there fell out a great quarrel and dispute, for it being resolved to jettison all boxes, baggage, and goods that were on deck, so as to lighten the ship and save us from peril, they began with the first and nearest that came to hand, whereupon arose such an uproar and mutiny among the ship's company that they came to blows with their cutlasses, and the captain was at length constrained to lay many by the heels and put them in irons. This storm lasted well-nigh two whole months, which time we took to double the Cape, accompanied with many other misfortunes and hardships. When we first sighted it, if the fair wind had continued for but six hours more, we should have doubled it with good success; but, when quite close to it, we were driven far away. Thus we remained till the end of May, unable to make headway against the heavy gales and contrary winds during all that time. The cause of this misfortune was that we were too late in leaving Goa, it being customary always to set out towards the end of December or beginning of January. Verily we were in dire peril, for gales so heavy and furious, and of so long duration, had never been seen before, as one of our pilots said who had made the voyage many a time. Our great yard was broken asunder twice, our sails were torn more than thirty times, and three mariners and two slaves fell overboard and were drowned.

The ship was so shattered by the sea and leaked in such sort that for the remainder of the voyage we could not leave the two pumps night or day. And even so, the sea came in in such quantity that we could not manage to empty her with the buckets, though every one, even the captain, worked.

In this extremity, being without remedy, the captain, gentlemen, and merchants took counsel and resolved to return to India, seeing we could make no way, and that the King of Spain forbade any to tarry there attempting to double the Cape after the 20th of May. But the master-pilots, mariners, and other sailors were not of this thinking, saying that our ship was not fit to return and repass the Natal coast, where storms are constant. Upon which advice we took resolve to hold on and, awaiting the mercy of God, to battle with the sea. We had on board a goodly number of officers of ships which had been captured or lost, and these preferred rather to die than to return to India, and of the same mind were we; indeed, the general voice was to get to Portugal or perish in the attempt. Another argument was that it is impossible for the great Portuguese ships, on account of their size, to take the land at the Cape of Good Hope, as do the smaller vessels used by the French and Hollanders in their navigations.

Then did another grievous mischance befall us: for, being quite close to the shore, a calm overtook us, in such wise that our sails served us nought to get us back into the deep sea. So were we borne by the current toward the shore and within a great bay, called by the Portuguese *Enseada*, or, as we say, *ance*.[1] We were then so close to the shore that we saw no prospect of being able to get out or to double the two headlands, and our only hope was in the mercy of God and in the compassion of the inhabitants. Everyone got his arms and other things ready, with the intention of attempting to reach the land in case the vessel broke up: which event the

[1] Fr. *anse*, a little bay or creek.

savage natives all along the shore awaited in keen expectation, and I believe all the composition we should have been able to make with them would have been to be a meal for them, so eagerly, to judge from their appearance, did they await us. The crowd on the beach was vast beyond counting. Thereupon, however, it pleased the Divine goodness to save us from this peril by means of a little wind which then arose and carried us outside the bay, and so preserved us and our ship.

The coast of this Cape is very dangerous by reason of the contrary winds that vessels usually encounter. You see great and high mountains all of bare rock, with precipices, and lofty peaks which seem to touch the clouds.

The first sign of the Cape on coming from India is that, at thirty or forty leagues from land, you see a vast number of sea-wolves moving in bands; also numbers of great birds, white, like swans, but with the tips of the tail and wings black, and on that account called by the Portuguese *Manouas de Vellado*, that is, "velvet sleeves".[1] These wolves and birds are, as it were, the sentinels which God has been pleased to place there, as also are the *Trombas*, or reeds, whereof I have spoken elsewhere.[2] The poor mariners are much consoled thereby, for these animals never fail to come and salute the vessels. And when they are seen, the lead is at once taken in hand and sounding proceeds without ceasing until the Cape is sighted. Also, when the Portuguese mariners think themselves near, incontinently they run to get ready their lines for the fishing: for it is impossible to conceive a greater quantity of fish than exist in this sea, all excellent and of all kinds, amongst them one called *Cauallo*. They cast their lines sometimes to the depth of 80 and 100 fathoms to catch these fish; and on this occasion some were caught that four men could hardly carry. This Cape

[1] See vol. i, p. 21.

[2] See vol. i, p. 20.

of Good Hope is called the Lion of the Sea, because it is so furious.

This Cape, or rather that of the Needles (*Aiguilles*), which projects still farther, is at 35 degrees from the equinoctial line towards the Antarctic Pole; that which is properly called the Cape of Good Hope, is at 34½ degrees. The people which inhabit this coast, and as far as Mozambic, are exceeding brutish and uncivilised, utterly dull and without intelligence, black and misshapen, with no hair upon their heads, and with eyes always bleared.

They cover their shame with beasts' skins in their natural state. Their backs are covered with a large whole skin, joined at the neck in front; from it hang the beasts' tails in such wise that from a distance the men themselves seem to have tails. The women have long breasts, and dress in the same style. They eat human flesh and beasts' flesh all raw, also guts and entrails without washing them, like very dogs.

The men have no other arms but certain sharp javelins with iron heads. For the rest, they live without law or religion, and just like beasts.

At length, having endured the travail of so many storms, it pleased God to send us a favouring wind, that so, on the last day of May 1610, we had the good fortune to double the Cape. On the morrow, finding we had passed it, we indulged the hope of reaching Portugal and returning to the Indies no more: for on the return voyage none entertain this hope till they have passed the Cape, ever expecting to be obliged to retrace their way; and in like manner do those proceeding from Portugal to the Indies. On that day, in token of our rejoicing, we sang a Mass with a *Te Deum*, so to render thanks to God. And on the Sunday following was represented a very pretty comedy that had been got ready and rehearsed during the voyage from Goa to the Cape, to be played when we passed it; thus had we good entertainment for three days after passing the Cape.

It was indeed an almost impossible and unhoped-for event for a ship to pass the Cape so late in the season on the return voyage; and had not a fair wind come we had met our deaths there without hope of safety, for it was altogether out of the question to return to India, or to survive that passage of Natal, with a ship leaking as did ours. Three days later—that is, about the 5th of June—a council was assembled to determine whether we ought to make straight for Portugal, that is, if we had fresh water enough, and if our ship was fit for the voyage, or whether we should go to St. Helena or the Kingdom of Angola in Africa for refreshment. At length, after much discussion, it was resolved to make land at St. Helena for refreshment and for refitting the ship. That island was the nearest land, and the wind was fair for reaching it, though it was distant from the Cape 600 leagues. Another reason was that it lay on our way, whilst Angola did not.

This resolution taken, a fear arose lest we should meet the Hollanders at this island; wherefore all the cannon that had been put below were remounted and the ship put in order for fighting. We had in all forty pieces of heavy iron cannon.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Island of Saint Helena; a description thereof, and what befell us there.

On the 25th of the same month of June we arrived at the island of St. Helena, where we found no ships, but only some letters in the chapel, left by the three other carracks that had passed there in company. We also found some letters left by a caravel sent by the King of Spain to get news of us; having given up hope of our coming, she had gone home.

On landing, I was astonished to find in what state the chapel was, for when I passed there on my way to the Indies, as I have related above,[1] this chapel was adorned with a fair altar and handsome images and pictures, while above in front was a fine large cross of freestone, white as marble and well carved, which the Portuguese had brought from Portugal.[2] Now on my return all had been broken by the Hollanders, who touch there frequently, because the Portuguese used to take away all the drawings, letters, and writings that the Hollanders had left there, on which account the latter left a note for the Portuguese to this effect: "Leave our drawings, writings, and notes, and we will leave yours"; but the Portuguese consented not thereto, and so, out of the hatred these nations have for one another, everything is broken and spoiled, and even the greater part of the trees have not been spared.[3]

We repaired afresh the door of the chapel and the altar, and replaced the ornaments. Then, having taken in water and refreshments, and refitted our ship as best we could, we re-embarked after a sojourn of nine days. We were much afraid that our ship was shattered and had bad leaks,

[1] Vol. i, p. 18.

[2] This cross was probably sent out to replace the one destroyed by Cavendish's men in 1588. Linschoten (ii, 253) relates that the Englishmen "beate downe the Alter and the Crosse that stoode in the Church, and left behind them a Ketle and a Sword, which the Portingales at our arrival found there. Yet could they not conceive what they might meane."

[3] Mr. A. Wallace attributes the denudation of the island principally to the goats, which cut off all the young seedlings and thus prevent the natural restoration of the forest. This destruction was aided by the reckless waste of the native red-wood and ebony. In 1810 the island was so denuded that English, American, and Australian flora had to be introduced. These importations have had the effect, in Sir J. Hooker's opinion, of rendering it impossible to restore the native flora, which exists only in the inaccessible heights. (*Island Life*, pp. 282-6. See also *St. Helena*, by J. C. Melliss, London, 1875, 8vo.)

although she was not making so much water. The cause of that was that the leaks were stopped with sand, and we were afraid lest, when she got out into deep sea and began to strain, the leaks would reopen and we should thus go to the bottom. Nevertheless, in this state of fear and uncertainty, we made up our minds to weigh anchor and set sail for Portugal, as our resolution was; but, as it pleased God, we were hindered therein by a strange misfortune that befell us, as I shall describe hereafter.

But before leaving the island of St. Helena I will tell what I learnt more particularly of it on my return voyage; for on my first voyage we had not the same leisure or opportunity.

This island is, as I have already remarked, at some 600 leagues from the Cape of Good Hope, in a westerly direction, and some sixteen degrees beyond the equinoctial. It is very difficult to fetch on the way to India, and many have sought it in vain: for they take not this route on the voyage to the East, but only on the return, wherefore it was a mere chance that we fell in with it on our voyage out, and the Portuguese and Hollanders were much surprised. It was also contrary to the opinion and notions of our pilot; for, when we got close upon it, our general asked him if he had ever been there before, and being answered yes, inquired in what roadstead he ought to cast his anchor. The pilot did not know where he was, and the information was got from his valet, a Hollander lad, who had also been there. This caused our general to have great distrust of this pilot, as being a bad bargain, and this afterwards proved to be too true. And all the while he had his wages of 100 crowns a month, his bellyful at the captain's table, and his allowance of bread and a quart of wine a day, with a valet that was rated and fed as a mariner; besides all he had already cost for his keeping at St. Malo, for six or seven months, him and his wife.[1]

[1] This bad bargain was an Englishman. (See vol. i, pp. 49, 79.)

This shows how carefully the pilots should be chosen for so important a voyage.

But to return to this island;—it has a very good roadstead, and ships, even carracks, can approach quite close to the land. The island is about five or six leagues in circuit. The air is good and healthy, the water very excellent, descending from the mountains in many abundant streams that fall into the sea. On the heights of the mountain are many ebony and red-wood trees. There are many sorts of animals, such as goats, hogs, white and red partridges, wood-pigeons, turkeys, pheasants,[1] etc. Of fruits there are lemons, oranges, and figs in great quantity. All around the island there is an abundant fishery; among others is one sort of fish called by the Portuguese *Queualo*, which is of the shape of our breams; it is salted and pickled for use at sea. There are also plenty sea-eels, and of many kinds.

When the Portuguese approach this island they prepare their lines for a general fishing; and while some go a-fishing others go a-hunting on the mountain, and so they lack not flesh nor fish. The flesh cannot be kept for long in salt; but must be eaten promptly, or carefully protected from the flies, otherwise it is soon all covered with worms. Some of us that knew not this, and laid some pieces of meat aside for an hour or two, found them afterwards all full of worms. Fish, however, keeps well in salt.

All the island is surrounded by great rocks against which the sea ever beats furiously, and chiefly when the tide rises; and there are some grottoes, too, where the water is thus driven in and from time to time spouts out from a higher vent, and sometimes it is long ere it is spurted forth; so it befalls that, while it is held there, the sun, which is continually beating on the rocks, forms a very white and excellent salt; no great quantity, indeed, but enough for the nonce.

[1] The partridge is the *Caccabis chullar* (Gray); the pheasant, *P. orquatus;* the turkey, *Meleagris gallopavo* (Linn.) (*Melliss*, pp. 94, 95.)

This island is exceeding small, but has great commodities, and is very convenient for the East India voyage, which it were very difficult, nay, almost impossible, to make without fetching it. So I think that God has been pleased to fix it in this place as a halfway house in the midst of the great ocean, that so we should give to all the Indian peoples a knowledge of the faith, and obtain knowledge of all the wondrous things to be seen in those far-distant lands. To this end has Providence bestowed upon it all that is best of air, earth, and water; and nowhere in the world, I believe, will you find an island of its size to compare with it. Before the Portuguese went to the Indies there were in this island no animals nor fruits, but only fresh water, and the trees which the soil naturally produces.

The island is very dry of itself, yet it rains often. The mountains are exceeding high and difficult to climb, and were it not that the vast number of goats and pigs, by trampling, wear the hill-sides into paths, it would be impossible to ascend, and still more to descend. I have often seen men in such difficulties that they cried pity, and but for timely succour had never been able to get away. In the valleys the heat is excessive, while on the mountain-tops, by reason of the chilling winds, it is wondrous cold. We were constrained to get to the lee of the wind, and to make fires, though the sun was at the time right overhead. Most frequently we had to ascend crawling upon hands and knees, and to descend sliding on our backs. But for these difficulties there had remained no animals in the place, for all the passing ships would have taken what they listed, and the Hollanders, now that they go there regularly, would soon make a clean sweep. The consequence is that now fruits are found only by chance, and most of the trees are broken down or cut to pieces: for the passing ships take away the fruits, though still in flower, on the plea that 'tis better thus than to leave them for the Hollanders and

English; which peoples act in like sort toward the Portuguese. So is the land changed since others than the Portuguese have resorted there. It was a wondrous fair prospect at the time of our arrival in 1601, compared with the scene of ruin—to wit, of the chapel and the cross, the trees and cottages—that met my eyes on my return in 1610. Now there is no cultivation of fruits; and whereas in former days I observed infinite store of mustard, now there is hardly any at all. The Portuguese are wont to leave their sick there, and at present the Hollanders do the like. Provisions are left for them, such as biscuit and other ship's victuals; as for flesh and fish, they have no lack. The animals have become so used to it, that when they see the ships come in they all go off to the mountains, and when they see them depart they return to the valleys, and especially to that where the chapel is, which is the fairest and most spacious ground, and has always some plants growing, which they come to eat. The men that are left to sojourn there then catch these animals in this crafty wise: these gardens are enclosed with walls and doors, which they leave open, and, when the animals have entered, a man concealed at a distance draws a cord fastened to the door and shuts them in: thus they catch as many as they please and let the rest go. These sick folks remain there till other ships come and take them off, for without fail they recover their health in that excellent climate, nor has a single man been known to die there, so far as I could learn. But they must not leave there any except the sick, the King of Spain having expressly forbidden it, for fear lest they should make themselves masters and take possession of the island: which would in truth be a grievous hardship to the poor voyagers that come there worn out with the travail of ship-life; for either they would find no refreshment and no materials for their refitting, or else they would have to pay dearly for the same, and so they would be obliged to leave part of the profits of their voyage

behind them there. I have heard the Portuguese tell how that once upon a time a certain hermit took up his abode there for some years, but the King of Spain ordered that he be brought back to Portugal, because he drove a great trade in goats' skins, having killed so great a number that in time he had certainly cleared the island.[1] They told me also that at another time two men and two women, all of them slaves, escaped and hid themselves in this island, and were there a long while ere they could be found, for when they saw any ships in the offing they went and hid themselves in the boskiest and most inaccessible places. There they increased and multiplied even to the number of twenty, and made the island one great waste ere they could be caught; but at last they were taken, and since then there has been no inhabitant. When the vessels arrive there all go ashore, some to the chase, some a-fishing, others to get water, to wash linen, to gather fruits, herbs, mustard, etc., everyone for himself. Mass is celebrated every day, and every man receives the sacrament. All that land there out of conceit cut their names on the bark of a fig-tree, which endure as long as the tree itself; the letters are scored across each other sometimes half a foot in length. Some of these inscriptions are of the years 1515 and 1520.[2]

Two Portuguese men and two slaves along with an Indian woman of our ship had made a secret design to remain at this island, and had even got ashore all their baggage, and had concealed themselves in the mountains, with some provision of arquebuses, ammunition, and fishing-lines, but they were discovered and brought back to the ship.

[1] Linschoten says this hermit sold at least five hundred or six hundred skins a year.

[2] All this description of St. Helena follows closely that of Linschoten, which Pyrard or his patrons must have read.

CHAPTER XXV.

Departure from Saint Helena.—Accident to the ship.—A French diver.—Arrival at Brazil, and loss of the ship.

On the point of our departure from the island of St. Helena an accident happened that was like to ruin us. We had weighed our anchor at the shore end, and were about to weigh that toward the sea, when by ill-luck this latter was found to be fouled with an old cable which had been at the bottom of the sea a long while. This cable had been left, as was said, by some Hollander ships: it caused our anchor to run along its whole length, while we thought it was still holding to the bottom, and so the mischief arose.

The consequence was that the more force we applied the nearer our ship approached the shore. This we did not notice till we were quite close in; then the captain, perceiving the cause, gave order to cut the cable forthwith, and to leave the anchor behind and to set sail at once. The foresail and spritsail were immediately set; but this we had hardly managed ere the wind, which had till now been off shore, suddenly changed, and, coming from the sea, drove the ship on the ground, where she lay bedded in shallow water for the space of five hours. We were at our wits' end, especially when we saw some of the planks and boards of our hull come off, and, indeed, we gave ourselves up for lost. However, we lightened the ship of the fresh water we had obtained at the island, and of some other things of small value, and then sent some anchors far out to sea, so as to work the ship out by hauling. So, after many prayers to God, and after much travail, at length she began to float, and was worked out to sea.

They had brought to the foot of the mainmast the image of Notre Dame de Jesus, from whom the ship was named,

and all the company invoked her with prayers. The Franciscans, too, that were on board brought the image of St. Francis and his girdle, and so, after much hard work and easing the ship, we began to take heart. There were many who said they had observed a fish all the time at the rudder, and that as soon as the image and girdle of St. Francis were brought it made off. Some did therefore believe that St. Francis had done this miracle; others, however, held that it was Notre Dame de Jesus; but in this dispute I thought our preservation was due to the hand of the Almighty alone.[1]

Meanwhile the ship was making much more water than usual, and we doubted whether we ought not to remain at the island: and what is more, we had no fresh water, nor any casks to obtain it withal. Hereupon a council being assembled, it was settled that we should remain, discharge the ship on the island, and make a pinnace of the galion, which was to make for the Bay *de Todos Santos*, on the Brazil coast, with some of our crew; they were to look out for other ships and get them to come and take off the rest of us, and the merchandise, cannon, and furniture of the carrack, which was to be left where it was. But at a subsequent council it was resolved to venture to reach the said Bay of All Saints, which is the capital town of Brazil, and where the Portuguese viceroy resides, a distance of 550 leagues.

This resolution taken, it was deemed unadvisable to leave behind a little image in relief of the child Jesus, which a Portuguese gentleman had presented to the chapel of the island. Everyone said that had been the cause of our misfortune, and that the image of Our Lady, which we had, was not willing to leave her son behind her. Having determined

[1] P. Della Valle relates that when he was on a Portuguese ship, wanting a good wind, the sailors, as was their last resort in such circumstances, *bound* the image of St. Anthony, as it were to imprison him till he should grant their prayer.

to fetch it, they set out with the cross and banner, chanting hymns and litanies, and made procession all round the chapel: then, before coming on board, they made another procession all round the vessel with the boat. In the chapel they left only the pictures of Our Lady and of St. Helena.

To return to our mishap, I must add that during our travail we had to get a man who could dive, and the captain sang out that if there were any that could and would do it, he would give him a hundred cruzados, and a *certidon* or certificate to be further recompensed by the king. But although some made the attempt, none could do it, for it was necessary to remain a long while under the water, and to go right under the ship seven or eight fathoms and more; and also it was very cold, seeing the sun was in the tropic of Cancer, which is the winter in those parts. There was, however, one man, the carpenter of our ship, the *Corbin*, who had shared my fortunes, that essayed to attempt it, though he did not believe he could succeed. The captain and chief officers made him many fair promises. Whereupon, seeing he could no longer refuse, and having already given some proof of his skill, he went several times under the ship and discovered her leaks, finding that many of the planks and boards of her outer sheathing were burst and useless. And though he reported some to be held by only one or two bolts, he judged that the keel (the most important part of the ship) was nowise damaged. All were well pleased to have found such a man, and made much more account of him than before.

For the rest, we believed that God had inflicted this trouble upon us to save us from a greater. For if our ship had not taken the ground, we had set out for Portugal, and been swamped, by reason that the rudder was but barely fixed, as was discovered during that survey. Of the nine bolts and hinges by which it was fixed, six of the most necessary were broken or loose, so that, had we encountered but a moderate gale

we should have been lost. The rudder had been thus badly injured by the storms at the Cape of Good Hope. When its condition was discovered, we had to unfix it with great trouble, which was all we could do with the two capstans and all hands, so heavy and unwieldy was it. By good fortune, some suitable bolts and hinges were found handy; for the Portuguese carry no armourer or blacksmith as we do. When it was mended and refitted, a collection was made throughout the ship on behalf of our St. Malo diver; he got no money, but Indian merchandise, such as cotton, cloths, and cinnamon, amounting in all to twelve or fifteen crowns' worth.

All this done, and the ship being refitted, after a delay of ten days since the accident, we took in as much fresh water as we could, and at length set sail from St. Helena, with the intention to make straight for Brazil. It was now the 14th of July, and by God's grace we had the wind fair, otherwise we had without doubt been lost. We were also obliged to tow our boat or galion behind us with a heavy cable, though this is against the ordinances of the King of Spain, and indeed, except for taking in water and refreshments at St. Helena, they would have left it at Goa. The custom and the express orders are to sink it, or break it up at that island, because sometimes the boat is the cause of a vessel's loss, inasmuch as it makes the captains, officers, and chief men of a ship careless, out of the confidence they have of escaping in the boat, as soon as they see the ship in danger, instead of using all their energies to save the ship. We thus made a good voyage from St. Helena to the land of Brazil, crossing over in about twenty-four days: yet was it not without much fear and apprehension, for we never left the pumps the whole time, so shattered and leaky was our vessel.

On the 8th August we began to sight the coast of Brazil, which is very white, like sheets, or bleached cloths, or

snow; wherefore the Portuguese call it the land of sheets. When we first sighted it we were yet twelve leagues off.

On the 9th of the said month we cast anchor at four leagues distance from the entrance of the bay, which we dared not enter, as we did not know it, our pilot saying he had never been there. The galion was therefore despatched with seven or eight hands to give word of our coming to the viceroy, and to get pilots to take us in. Meanwhile, as we awaited the return of the galion, the cable of our anchor by misfortune broke through wearing upon a rock in the sea; the wind was then from the sea, and was like to drive us ashore, and we were in great peril. As soon as it was perceived that we were nearing the shore, we set sail, and thus got out to sea again, and there awaited the galion's return. The following night we saw signal-fires, which were to inform us that three caravels were on their way to succour us with refreshments, and pilots to take us in. When these at length arrived we were all greatly rejoiced, seeing it was now six months since we had left Goa, and we were accordingly utterly exhausted with the labours of the sea. There remained of our company about 550 persons, men and women, whereof the most part were sick.

On the 10th, in the morning, we entered the bay on the north side. On the shore on the right-hand is a fortress and a fine church of St. Anthony, where are a number of monks, whom we saluted with a volley of cannon. The entrance of the bay is about ten leagues in width. About midway across is a little island, four leagues or so in circuit, and vessels can enter on either side of it. We took the northern course, the safer of the two, and proceeding up three leagues we cast anchor, and again with our cannon saluted the town and the viceroy, whereto the viceroy responded with a salute of all his cannon. This was followed by much cannonading and fireworks, which lasted all the night long.

The next day, the 11th, the Council ordered that the ship be got nearer in, because we were not safe where we were, both on account of the English and Hollanders, and of the weather; wherefore we weighed our anchors, so as to get nearer the town; and while we were under sail, the viceroy and some of the chief men of the town were coming to visit us. But just as they were about to board us, by mischance our ship took the ground on one of the many sand-banks which are a great danger in this bay. This we could not have foreseen, though we had two good pilots of the country.

There appearing no means whatever of saving the ship, although we worked hard for the space of six hours, we were advised, in order to save the merchandise and the company, to cut down the mainmast, which was done forthwith. The viceroy incontinently despatched thirty or forty caravels and other small craft, which clustered round the carrack, to receive the company and the goods. When the goods were got into the caravels, and the ship thus lightened, she began to float, and approached within cannon-shot of the town, which is called *Sainct Salvador*.

Meanwhile our ship was in worse state than ever, and was making water at such a rate that there was no hope of moving her from where she was, still less of getting her to Portugal. So it was resolved to discharge her entirely, and to land the remainder of the goods. Upon our arrival, a despatch caravel had been sent off to Lisbon, to take the news of our coming to Brazil, and the condition we were in. Whereupon the King of Spain sent out a number of galions and caravels to bring home all the cannon and munitions of war, along with the crew and merchandise, for it was found that the ship was useless by reason of the heavy storms she had encountered, let alone the fact that she had taken the ground two or three times, and had her mainmast cut. Our French carpenter did good service also on this occasion, for he was required again to dive in order to get the cables

down to the bottom of the sea, so as to recover the anchors, rudder, and other things needed: for this service the viceroy gave him fifteen crowns, and told him if he went to Portugal he would get the equivalent of 150 crowns: to ensure which the viceroy and the captain gave him a *certidon* or certificate. They told us that had he been a Portuguese he would have got more than 300 ducats, and would, moreover, have obtained an office on board a Portuguese ship bound for India.

As soon as we set foot on land in this bay, and at the city of *S. Salvador*, my companions and I sought the viceroy, and showed him our passport, granted by the viceroy and the *Viador de fasienda* of Goa; on sight whereof he received us with much courtesy, and bade us come and eat, drink, and sleep at his house. This we did, and, fortunately for us, this viceroy had a Florentine *maître d'hôtel* who had been in Paris, and proved a good friend to us all the time we were there. But I will postpone for the next chapter all that I remarked of this land of Brazil during our sojourn there.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of Brazil, and the singularities thereof, and what befell during the sojourn of the Author there.

The Bay of All Saints in Brazil is 50 or 60 leagues broad, situate in the altitude of 13 degrees from the equinoctial toward the south. In this bay are many little islands; among others, one they call *l'Isle des François*, because the French were the first to discover Brazil, and here they retired for security from the ambuscades of the savages.

Into this bay fall many fine rivers, which are navigable far inland for boats and barques, and serve to supply the country with commodities.

The city of St. Salvador[1] is high-pitched on the summit of a mountain of difficult ascent, which on the seaside is sheer. Everything brought to the town or exported in gross has to be raised or lowered by a certain engine. No waggons are used, because it were too troublesome and expensive, whereas by this machine the cost is slight.

At the foot of this mountain, for more than a quarter of a league, are well-built houses on both hands, forming a long and handsome street, well crowded with all manner of merchants, craftsmen, and artisans. There also are the cellars and warehouses for the receipt and despatch of merchandise, whether of the king or of private persons. And

[1] The following description of modern Bahia is perhaps the best commentary on the above:—

"Along the shore is the Cidade Baixa, or lower town, the more ancient portion of the city. Here are the lofty stone houses of the old colonists, with antique churches of massive and quaint architecture. . . . The lower city is built on a narrow strip of land along the water at the foot of a steep black cliff some 240 feet high. One great street stretches along the beach, known as the Praya; it is four miles long, with a tramway running down its entire length. This Praya presents a very animated appearance, for here are the huge stores, magazines, and warehouses, and along the quays are moored the native craft, the queerest imaginable, with their gaudy paint, lofty sterns, strange rig, and semi-nude negro crews. . . . Behind this Praya, as I said, rises a cliff, not a smooth bare cliff, but rugged, with quaint houses let into it, and rich vegetation filling every crevice. On the summit of this cliff is the plain, on which is built the Cidade Alta, or upper city, with its narrow streets, nearly each with its tramway-line, its broad squares, and the cathedral. A steep road winds from the Praya to the upper city; but there is also another means of ascent prepared for an indolent population, that will not walk ten yards if such exertion can be avoided. From the sea an imposing-looking tower is observable, built from the lower town to the upper, along the cliff-side, and terminating in a broad platform on the summit. This is the Elevator, or *parafusa*, as it is called, being merely one of our now common hydraulic hotel-lifts on a large scale. A smart Yankee hit upon this speculation, and it has proved successful." (E. F. Knight, *Cruise of the Falcon*, pp. 57-8.) Pyrard shows that the smart Yankee's notion must be considerably antedated.

by this engine whereof I have spoken the merchandise is raised up into the town, according as it is sold for distribution. To lift a cask of wine costs 20 sols, and the same to lower it: that is, 40 sols a turn; for every time a cask or other weighty thing is raised, another of the same weight is lowered. It is like the two weights that ascend and descend in a well, and is in the fashion of a crane.

The city is walled and well built; it is a bishopric, and contains one college of Jesuits[1] (besides others in the country), a monastery of Franciscans, another of Benedictines, another of Carmelites: all these have handsomely built churches. Great numbers are continually converted to the Christian religion, albeit they are not so firm in the faith as are the East Indians after their baptism, but remain as fickle and hare-brained as before.

There is a hospital in the town, ordered after the manner of Spain and France. Also a Misericordia, and a very fine cathedral church or *Assee*, with a dean and canons, but no Inquisition,[2] for which cause there are there great numbers of *Christianos nuevos*—that is, Jews, or Jews turned Christian. It was said the King of Spain desired to establish it, whereat all these Jews took great fright. For the rest, the Portuguese in Brazil conduct themselves in all respects as in Portugal, and not as in the East Indies. The King of Spain maintains in the town of St. Salvador three companies of infantry of 100 men each, whereof one is on guard every day at the residence of the viceroy, or Governor of Brazil.

The coast of Brazil extends about 800 or 900 leagues. It is a rough and savage country, well-nigh all covered with woods; and even about and around the towns it is all forest, swarming with apes and monkeys, which work much mischief; also other animals and birds.

[1] Now used as a hospital.

[2] Bahia largely owed its prosperity to this fact.

The soil is unfruitful, and suffices not to maintain the Portuguese, all kinds of provisions being imported from Portugal, the Azores, and the Canary Islands; insomuch that, were it not for the quantity of sugar made in Brazil, it were useless to live there. The pound of sugar is sold there at two sols six deniers; and what in the way of provisions or clothes we can buy in France for five sols, is worth forty in Brazil. The country's riches lie principally in sugars, wherewith, as I have said elsewhere, the Portuguese lade their ships. I believe there is no place in all the world where sugar grows in such abundance as there. In France we hear only of the sugars of Madeira and of the island of St. Thomas; but these are nothing in comparison with that of Brazil, for in the island of Madeira there are but seven or eight sugar-engines, and but four or five in St. Thomas. There is indeed a large quantity refined in those two islands, being carried there for the purpose. But in 150 leagues of the coast of Brazil there are to my knowledge nearly 400,[1] and the whole coast is nearly 800 leagues. Yet is not all the rest of the coast like these 150 leagues, whereby I mean from 25 leagues this side of *Fernambuq* to the distance of 25 leagues beyond the *Baya de Todos Santos.* Each of these engines or mills turns out yearly about 100,000 *arrobes* of sugar (an arrobe weighs 32 pounds, and four arrobes go to a quintal, which fetches 15 francs on the spot). It is sold to us in France for Madeira sugar, and is as good; but it is refined and made into shape here, it having been necessary, in order to pack it in chests, to break it up and pound it; whereas, as loaf, it could not be packed, and half had been lost. For these reasons it is refined afterwards. Nevertheless, the sugar itself, if brought over in loaf, would be better, being purer, for the refiners here add an equal portion of alum and lime.

[1] Lopez Vaz, some twenty years before this, states that there were forty sugar-mills in the town of Bahia itself.

From these countries the Portuguese export silver, sugar, conserves, and comfits, both dried and liquid, of oranges, limes, citrons, and other fruits, chiefly green ginger, whereof there is marvellous plenty in those parts; but it is forbidden to dry it or import it to Spain otherwise than as a conserve, for the reason stated elsewhere. Also from thence is brought balsam and *petun*,[1] which the Portuguese call *tabaquo*, but no Brazil-wood: for this the King of Spain retains to himself, as I have said, because, owing to the unwholesomeness of the country for residence, he draws no subsidies therefrom. His farmers collect all that wood and send it across here. There is vast store of it there, yet none durst traffic in it; for if any quantities, great or small, were found in a ship, the whole ship would be confiscated, unless it were bought of the king or were being carried under a licence in writing.

This Brazil is so sorry a country that it would be impossible to reside there for long but for the traffic in sugar and wood; and even the making of the sugar entails great toil and trouble. The Portuguese, admitting that the French were the first discoverers and settlers, say that they could not put up with it, life being there too full of hardship and toilsome labour for men who like to have their tables spread for them. Yet of the Portuguese themselves the most part there are exiles, bankrupts, or convicts. When the King of Spain builds a town there, for the space of sixty years he

[1] The Brazilian word for tobacco. Burton (*Hans Stade*, Hak. Soc., p. 147) says it is properly written *P'ty* or *Pytýma*: it appears as *Bittin* in Hans Stade, *Betum* in Damião Goes, and *Betume* in Piso. As will be seen from the text, Pyrard uses it as the word which his readers will understand, while *tabaquo* is cited as Portuguese and foreign. It bade fair to become naturalised in French. Thus Scarron writes:

"S'il avait l'haleine importune
Comme d'un homme qui petune."

It still survives in Breton as *butun*: otherwise the name has been assigned to the well-known plant, the *petunia*.

levies no dues, subsidies, or imposts upon any manner of merchandise sold retail in the country. Moreover, the sites for their mansions cost them nothing, for they pay neither rent nor tax. Imports and exports pay but three per cent., and all goods, whether sugars or fruits, the produce of the country, pay only the tithe, which the King of Spain has obtained of the Pope for the following cause. Some countries are rich and others poor: thus the ecclesiastics would be in the one case rich and in the other poor, though their cures might be the same.[1] Wherefore they are all paid alike, that is, according to their rank and office, so that none hath ground of complaint.

In no country that I have seen is silver so common as in this land of Brazil; it comes from the river of *la Plata*, 500 leagues from this bay. You never see small money there, but only pieces of eight, four, and two reals; also of one real, which is worth five of our sols. They bring these pieces of five sols and of six blanks to Portugal to sell there for small money, and make profit thereby. There they use little other money than silver.

The Portuguese lack men to people this land of Brazil; they hold all the coast, along which are a number of towns, fortresses, and noble mansions, and about 20 or 30 leagues of the country inland. Some of the lords have great domains, with many sugar-mills, which the King of Spain has given them in recompense for some particular service. These domains carry with them a title of some dignity, such as baron, count, etc. The said lords demise these lands to others, who are willing to live upon them and plant the sugar-cane, on condition of bringing the cane to the mills or engines of the said lords, and receiving its price. They also

[1] A different reason is assigned by the Carmelite Philippus à Sanctiss. Trin.: "In India the king collects the tithe through his ministers; for inasmuch as the greater part of his subjects are Gentiles, the king's officers can perform that task more easily than the ecclesiastics." (French trans., p. 284.)

give them licence to cut timber for the use of the mill-furnaces, and pay them the same price as if it had been got elsewhere. They build fine mansions on their domains, with gardens and all manner of fruit-trees, and rear much cattle, poultry, etc., as do our farmers here. They also plant rice, millet, maize, the *Mandoc* root, batatas, and other vegetables. For the rest, the revenues of Brazil are more than sufficient to maintain all the garrisons, the viceroy, governors, captains, soldiers, and judiciary—indeed, all the royal officers; nor is there any need to send money from Portugal for these purposes. On the contrary, the King of Spain draws large annual profits as well from the Brazil-wood as from dues on sugars and other merchandises.

The Brazilians and likewise the Portuguese there, for their sustenance (inasmuch as bread is very scarce and dear, and flour has to be imported ready-made from Portugal) make a kind of flour of the root of a tree called *Mandoc*,[1] which they

[1] The well-known cassava-plant (*Manihot utilissima*). The reference in the text to the nutritive and poisonous qualities of this plant will best be explained by a description of its preparation by the Indians of Guiana. The roots are first peeled and then scraped upon a grater. The cassava then, in the form of pulp, is collected and placed in a "matapie", or cassava-squeezer, which hangs from the roof. This is a cylinder eight feet long and five or six inches in diameter, made of closely woven strips of pliant bark. Through a loop at the lower end of the "matapie" is thrust a heavy pole, one end of which is allowed to rest on the ground, fastened by a heavy stone; the other end, passed through the loop, being in air. A woman then sits upon the raised end of the pole, and by her weight stretches the "matapie" downwards. The pressure thus exercised forces the poisonous juice of the cassava through the walls of the "matapie". This juice, collected in a pot on the ground, is boiled, and becomes *cassareep*, a thick, treacle-like liquid which is no longer poisonous. The cassava, now dry and free from juice, is taken from the "matapie", broken into a sieve and sifted, so that it becomes a coarse flour. This is either wrapped in leaves and put away for future use, or is at once made into bread. When made into thin cakes, done upon a griddle or flat plate, and then sun-dried, the cassava bread is described, by the traveller from whom this account is borrowed, as having the flavour of freshly-gathered nuts. (E. F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, London, 1883, 8vo., pp. 260-2.)

eat and live upon; it eats well crummed with meat, being like dried chestnuts bruised. I have lived upon this fare in lieu of bread for six months—that is, in the country and aboard ship—on my return home, when we had no other biscuit. This root has a strange property: eaten in a dry powder it is very wholesome, whereas eaten green it will kill you. There is such store of it that they lade cargoes of it for the kingdom of Angola, on the Guinea coast, whence come the slaves for the West Indies.

As for flesh, the commonest is pork, which is exceeding good, so much so that the physicians order it for the sick rather than mutton, chicken, or other. For all that, living is vastly dear in Brazil. A pound of pork costs 10 sols, of beef 7 sols 6 deniers, of mutton 10 sols; a fowl like ours a crown. There are numbers of turkeys,[1] which the Portuguese call *Perou;* they cost two crowns apiece. You get a couple of eggs for five sols, and a pot of Canary wine for 40. They make also a cheap kind of wine from the sugar-cane, but that is only for the slaves and natives. There is abundance of fruit, such as oranges, lemons, bananas, cocos, etc.

The Portuguese have fine gardens well stocked with excellent vegetables, such as lettuces, cabbages, capital melons, cucumbers, radishes, etc. The vine does not succeed there, because of the innumerable ants which eat the fruit. There is a kind of rice, like *maiz* or Turkey wheat[2]; but it is only

[1] In orig. *poulles d'Inde.* The Portuguese is *Peru.* The turkey is an American bird. Our name "turkey" is as erroneous as the names given in other languages than ours to maize (see below); but De Candolle (*Orig. of Cult. Plants,* Intern. Sc. Ser., p. 389) goes too far in ascribing a similar error to the French "poule d'Inde": has he forgotten that there are two Indies?

[2] No doubt maize itself: the passage is curious as showing the effect of an erroneous nomenclature. Maize—the plant as well as the name—is indigenous to America, and was unknown in Europe before the discovery of the New World. It was introduced into the several countries of Southern Europe and took divers names, the most widespread being that given by the French, *blé de Turquie.* The first

given to cattle. The Spaniards in the West Indies do not so, for they mix it with corn and make bread of it. There is a very profitable fishery of whales, from which oil is drawn in such great abundance that they lade ships with it and drive a very great commerce therein.

The Brazilian natives who live among the Portuguese subsist more upon fish than on aught else. They do but little in the way of hunting, the country being so woody and full of wild beasts that they seldom venture there for fear of being eaten.

The country is thickly peopled; the natives are of middle stature, big-headed, large-shouldered, and of a reddish complexion.. The women are equally well-proportioned; they wear the hair long, whereas the men wear theirs short. The men have no pride in beards, wherefore the women pluck them out for them. They go as naked as when they came from their mother's wombs: naked are they born, naked they live, and naked they die; only their private parts they cover. Such as are in the service of the Portuguese wear a white shirt.

They have neither flax nor silk. Be it added, that they have all things in common, having no property of patrimonial lands. Nor have they any form of marriage, all manner of lewdness being permitted; and it is the women that are most addicted to lechery. They can have as many wives as they list, and in their intercourse are regardless of kinship, and that as publicly and shamelessly as if they were brute beasts. This I heard from residents in the inner country, for those that live among the Portuguese are

occurrence of this name is in Ruellius, *De Nat. Stirpium* (1536). By the end of the century people had grown up to regard it as Turkish wheat; and Pyrard, when he goes to Brazil, finds "a kind of rice like maiz". De Candolle notes some of the other erroneous assignments of origin: thus, in Lorraine, maize is called Roman corn; in Tuscany, Sicilian corn; in the Pyrenees, Spanish corn. In Sicily, as in England, it is more correctly called Indian corn.

more civilised. They have no temples or religion, worshipping neither god nor idol. They carry on no commerce, nor are acquainted with money. Yet are they given to war, for their arms using bows and arrows and massive clubs of Brazil-wood, wherewith they slay one another, tearing the flesh of their enemies, and roasting and eating it as dainty food; and white men's flesh they relish more than others. I have heard it said by some that were baptised (a great number having been converted by the Jesuits), that they had eaten many men, and that the most delicate parts were the hands and feet.[1]

The Portuguese never go without the towns save with arms, for fear of meeting these savages in the forests. These people live long by reason of the excellent air; 'tis said they live to full 150 years. They are also very healthy; you never see any sick, and when any fall ill they cure themselves with the juice of certain herbs which they know to be suitable to them; nor have they any physicians or surgeons.[2]

All about this bay they are much subject to the small-pox, but, forasmuch as they possess the Gayac,[3] which promptly cures them, they think little of this ailment.

[1] For a similar statement see Hans Stade, *Journal*, p. 93, where Burton quotes a horrible anecdote from Vasconellos (*i*, § 49). In modern times the same appears in St. John's *Hayti, or the Black Republic*.

[2] Much the same account of the Brazilians was given a hundred years before Pyrard's time:—"Women and men appear either entirely naked or clad with interwoven leaves and the feathers of birds of various colours. They live together in common, without any religion or king. They are continually at war among themselves. They eat the human flesh of captives. They exercise so much in the salubrious air that they live more than one hundred and fifty years. They are rarely sick, and then they cure themselves solely with the roots of plants." (Note on Ruysch's map contained in Ptolemy's *Geography*, Rome, 1508, quoted in Weise's *Discoveries of America*, 1884, p. 216.)

[3] *Gaiacum officinale*, L.

There is another malady, called by the Portuguese *Bische*,[1] which causes headache and pains in the limbs, resulting, if not promptly remedied, in an ulcer at the anus, and in death. When one is seized with it, forthwith for remedy he applies a quarter of a lime or citron to that part three or four times, and so cures it speedily. One of my companions fell ill of this complaint, and cured himself with this recipe.

There come also a manner of worms[2] on the feet, which with time grow as big as the tips of the fingers; and if they be not extracted, produce large ulcers and gangrene, but without pain. I have seen some lose their feet by them, yet are they easy to extract if one knows the method. For this cause every four days everyone examines his feet and casts out these creatures. They live on the ground, and attach themselves to the feet of such as go barefooted, who are the most liable; for these worms leap like fleas and bite folk's legs. I was myself much afflicted with them, and bear their marks on my legs and feet to this day.

The property whereof the Portuguese in Brazil make most account is that of slaves from the coast of Africa and the East Indies, because they durst not attempt to escape, seeing they would be caught and eaten by the natives of the country. The natives are not at all prized as slaves, inasmuch as they work neither well not willingly. It is a great pleasure on feast-days and Sundays to see all the slaves,

[1] In this paragraph he seems to be describing dysentery, though the name seems to belong to the next. Vieyra thus explains the Port. *bicho*:—"A worm: also a small insect in Brazil, as big as a flea, bred in the dust, which creeps in between the nails and the flesh of the feet, etc., and, if not taken out immediately, grows as big as a pea, and is then very troublesome to get out." He may, however, have intended to use the Port. *bichoca*, "a boil, a blotch" (*Vieyra*).

[2] This is the far-famed jigger or chigoe (*Pulex penetrans*). A recent traveller describes the swelling caused by the flea, which increases with eggs, as about the size of a pea; further, that it is easily extracted by raising the skin and pulling it out with a needle. (E. F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, 1883, p. 153.)

men and women, assembled, dancing and enjoying themselves in the public places and streets, for on those days they are not subject to their masters. But I need say no more of the characteristics of this country, both because I have already spoken of it in the chapter of the Portuguese traffic there, and because it has been much written of by our own countrymen who have visited it.[1]

I must, however, describe how, at the time of our arrival, all the Portuguese were in great fear and trembling on account of the report that our King Henry the Great was preparing a naval armada, most of the vessels of which were being equipped in Holland to make war upon them. The alarm reached not only to the Bay of All Saints, but to all the other places of the Indies where were any subjects of the King of Spain. And wonderful it was to observe the great esteem wherein our king was held of all brave men of war, and the admiration they had for his consummate valour and other qualities. But, to our misfortune, at the beginning of September arrived a small vessel despatched express from Seville, bearing the sad and deplorable news of the disastrous death of our most great and noble king, whom God absolve.[2] By this news the Portuguese were put again at their ease, and told us the news in a style of mockery, as though they despised us, while we knew not what to think or believe. Yet did others make demonstration of great sorrow, and the brave captains and soldiers and all men of judgment said that he was a great loss, for that he was the bravest and most valiant prince in the world; and, indeed, the Jesuits and other ecclesiastics in their sermons and services bade all the people to pray for him, saying that he was a most Christian and Catholic king.[3]

[1] Probably referring to the works of Lery and Thevet.

[2] Henry IV was assassinated by Ravaillac on the 14th May 1610.

[3] The praise bestowed upon Henry IV by the Jesuits after his death may be ascribed to the liberty which he had given them shortly before

I found also in Brazil a Frenchman named Julian Michel, a native of Nantes, a very rich merchant, and a man of intelligence. He was in partnership with a Portuguese, who had, either by purchase or favour, obtained the right of whale-fishery for seven years in this bay. It is the richest in the matter of oil in the whole world, and is a very great business.[1] This French merchant was attired as a Spaniard, and passed for such, having been well received at the court of the King of Spain, to whom he had been sent as ambassador by Monsieur de Mercure during the League. Afterwards he had taken up his residence at Bilbao in Biscay, and I think it was in return for his good services to the king that he had this grant of the fishery; for so far from such a licence being given to French, English, Hollanders, or other foreigners, they are even prohibited from navigating those seas under pain of death. Thus, then, did these partners carry on the fishery, which is a pretty sight to see, for their liberty to hunt and catch the whales extends over all the coast near the town. One day, amongst others, one of these great whales, seeing its little one caught, came with such fury against the fishers and their barque, that she capsized it entirely, and so saved her young, while the men with difficulty escaped. I had never believed this animal to be possessed of this temper, astuteness, and skill. The profits of this fishery consist of the oil extracted from the whales, for none of the flesh of this fish is eaten, save that of the little ones, which is very delicate.

For the purpose of this fishery, every year come two ships of Biscay with some Basque men, who are reputed to be

to teach in Paris, and also to his having written an autograph letter to the Pope (July 1609), demanding the canonisation of Loyola Francis Xavier (see *Cretineau-Joly*, iii, p. 152, where the letter is given). These acts, again, are probably due to his having had a Jesuit at his elbow during his latter years (see Motley, *Un. Neth.*, vol. iii).

[1] At the end of the seventeenth century it was rented by the Crown for 30,000 dollars (Watson, *Sp. and Port. America*, ii, 119).

best for this work. When we arrived there one of the two ships that had come that year had left the Bay two months before, and we found there only the smaller one, whereof most of the crew were from Bayonne and other places in the Basque country of France. I made great friends with them, and went to visit them often. As for M. Julian Michel, he lived in the town during the fishing, just like a burgher of the place. Each of these ships had a captain who was in command for the voyage. One night, the captain, who happened to be there, was minded to weigh anchor and set sail, though his ship was but half laden with whale-oil. He was going to start secretly, without cocket or passport of the viceroy, which is contrary to the ordinance, and entails confiscation and corporal punishment. The occasion of this conduct was that he had a secret treaty with a merchant, who was to sell and deliver him a large quantity of red wood, that being expressly prohibited, and was to load it at a place 200 leagues to the south of the Bay. But the viceroy got wind of it, and straightway sent overland to seize the ship and take all the men prisoners. This was done; the ship was brought back to the Bay, where the captain and chief officers were cast into prison in irons. The vessel was dismantled of all her rigging and apparel, and was still in the Bay when we left. Many of these prisoners and others that were at liberty gave me letters to bring to their kindred and friends, if peradventure I should happen to pass through their country, or meet with any that were to do so; this I did, as I shall relate hereafter.

Julian Michel was not made prisoner with the others, for he disavowed the captain, saying that he had not acted upon his orders. He treated us with great courtesy and much kindness, and when we were ready to embark, he made us presents of some provisions, such as meal of *mandoc*, and among other things some salt beef from the river of La Plata, than which no meat can be more rich, tender, or better flavoured. The oxen are the finest and largest in

existence; they come from Peru. A large trade is done in their hides, and the herds are so vast, that most of them are killed for the hides alone. They salt the flesh, cutting it in broad but thin strips, of the thickness of two inches at most. After being in the salt it is taken out without washing, and well dried in the sun, and in this condition will keep for long without spoiling, provided it be kept dry; for if allowed to get wet without being thoroughly dried again in the sun, it goes bad and breeds worms.

While I was in this Bay I made the acquaintance also of a Frenchman, a native of Provence, near Marseilles, who was servant to one of the greatest lords of the country, called *Mangue la botte*,[1] that being the name given him by the negroes of Angola, meaning the great and valiant captain, because he had been viceroy. In a war against these negroes this lord had quitted himself so valiantly that he was greatly feared among them. He was also said to be worth more than 300,000 crowns, drawing large revenues from many sugar-mills which he had. This Frenchman who lived with him was a musician and player of instruments, and that lord had engaged him to teach 20 or 30 slaves, who together made a concert of voices and instruments whenever required. This lord prayed and besought me to remain with him, promising me an appointment of 100 crowns and good provisions, if only I would take command of a certain number of slaves at their work. He also said that a year later he was going to Portugal, and indeed was building a very fine large vessel of 500 tons burthen for the purpose. He was also making a collection of all the strange animals and other rareties he could find, to make a present to the King of Spain. Among others, he had two of the animal

[1] Mr. Rivara thinks that the person here referred to was perhaps João Furtado de Mendoça, who was governor of Angola from 1594 to 1602. I do not understand the meaning of the sobriquet.

called *esure*,[1] whereof I make mention in my treatise of animals. I should willingly have accepted his conditions, but the mischief is, that after one is engaged with these lords, when one wants to come home they will not allow you.

I also met there an innkeeper and his wife, natives of the ditch of Nantes. They were well disposed towards us, but themselves were by no means well off: they kept a tavern and sold goods. They lost no opportunity of assisting us so far as their means permitted. They had been in Brazil upwards of 35 years, and were of great age. There were other Frenchmen resident here and there about the country.

Now having discussed sufficiently of this Bay, I must not forget to say a word about the viceroy, who was so good and gracious a friend to us, as indeed to every one he was a most kindly and courteous gentleman. This lord was a widower, and had with him his two sons, who were both held in high esteem. The father was called *Don Francisco de Menaissa*. While I was there his elder son was found abed with a Portuguese lady and surprised by the husband, who wounded him slightly; he, however, escaped. The wife had five or six sword-cuts, which, strange to say, did not prove mortal. I know not how the affair ended.

Nor must I forget to mention an adventure that befell myself there. One day, as I was walking in the town quite alone, habited in silk in the Portuguese mode of Goa, which is different from that of the Portuguese of Lisbon and Brazil, I met a slave girl, a negress of Angola, who, without further introduction or ceremony, bade me follow her with all assurance, saying she would lead me to a kindly gentleman who desired to speak with me. Thereupon, I paused to reflect awhile whether I ought to go, and trust to her words. At length I resolved to follow her and see what transpired. She led me by a thousand turnings and windings of the

[1] The zebra.

narrow lanes, every step increasing my fear and raising in me a resolve to go no further. She, however, gave me courage, and at length brought me to a large and handsome house, nobly furnished and carpeted, where I saw none but a young Portuguese lady, who gave me a warm reception, and incontinently bade prepare an agreeable repast. Seeing that my hat was but a sorry one, she took it off my head with her own hand, and gave me a new one of Spanish wool, with a handsome cord, and made me promise I would come and see her again, for that she would assist me and provide me with amusement so far as she could. The which I failed not to do, and went to see her often while I was there, and she did me a thousand good offices.

I made the acquaintance and friendship also of another young Portuguese lady, a native of *Porto* in Portugal, by name *Marie Mena*, who kept one of the best taverns in the town, and I lacked not meat and drink, for she gave me both when I was in need, with her husband's knowledge, supplying me with money to pay over to her. She called me her "Camarade". I made her presents of the little store I had brought from the Indies; such things they highly esteem in those parts, more so than at Lisbon itself. The women there are far more affable and friendly towards strangers than the men, who are usually exceeding jealous.

I will now relate another affair that befell us there. As I have said, the viceroy, on our first arrival, bade us come for our victuals and bed to his house, which we failed not to do for some ten or twelve days. But seeing that we were not well accommodated there, and had bad sleeping-room, we spoke to that Italian of Florence who had the control of the house, and he ordered a woman who lived hard by the viceroy's mansion to take us in. Thither we caused to be conveyed all our baggage and the small store of provisions that remained to us, amongst others two large parcels of

Indian rice, of the description called *Girasal*,[1] which is small, but the best in the world. This had been given us by the master pilot of our ship for our assistance on the voyage; each parcel weighed full one hundred pounds. Nevertheless, we used to go for our meals at the viceroy's house when we were so minded. This woman, our hostess, having a great fancy to possess this rice, which is greatly valued there, would not let us take it with us when we were about to leave, saying that she had bought it for a certain price—half, indeed, of what it was worth—and wanted us to pay at that rate; but we refusing, and she insisting to the contrary, we were constrained to carry our complaint to the *Oydor*, or town's magistrate. Everyone said we should take nothing by going to law with this woman, for that she was in great credit and favour by reason of certain good offices rendered by her to the viceroy, his sons, and others, in their amours. Nevertheless, these availed her not against our word. She was adjudged to restore us our rice, and to pay the costs. This she promptly did without more ado, out of fear lest she should be attached and taken before the magistrate, who knew full well what trade she had been driving. In this affair we had some good friends, who recounted to the Oydor all the life of this good lady, and he forthwith sent one of his officers with us to see the judgment carried out.

The Portuguese of this country also showed me a gallows-tree, upon which, some years before, thirteen Frenchmen had been hanged. They were men of Rochelle, who were taken with their ship. One of the captains was named *Pain de mil*, and the other *Brifaut*. I saw there also an Englishman that was seized with them, who was led to the gallows

[1] This rice is mentioned by Linschoten as being of the best quality. "It is broght in round bundels, wrapped in strawe, and bounde about with cordes. . . . . This rice is better then that which commeth not in Fardens, and is called Girasall Rice, which is the best, and beareth the highest price." Dr. Burnell notes that it is the Mahr. jiresāl = cummin (like) rice, so called from its smell (*Linsch.*, i, 245).

with the rope round his neck ready to be hung with the rest, but was spared because the Frenchmen protested that he had been forced to come with them, having been taken at sea in an English ship: as indeed the truth was. This Englishman was worth more than a thousand crowns; and lived with a Portuguese lord, whom he served at his sugar-mills.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Departure from Brazil; of Fernambuq; Islands of the Açores; Brelingue in Portugal; great storm; the islands of Bayonne; journey to St. James; return of the Author, and his arrival in France.

At length, when I had been in Brazil for the space of two months, and was longing to return to Portugal, three brave and gallant Portuguese gentlemen, who bore me much affection, promised to get me on board with them. These three gentlemen were a certain *Don Fernando de Sylva de Menaissa* (who had been, as I have already said, general of the galiots of the North at Goa[1]), and his two brothers-in-law, who had been on board the same ship with me, the one[2] having been captain and governor of the island and

[1] See p. 264. This is the captain who captured one of the *Hector's* boats at Surat with seventeen Englishmen, and who on that occasion exchanged eloquent messages of defiance with Capt. William Hawkins (Hawkins' *Voy.*, p. 393).

[2] His name was Pedro Alvarez de Abreu. Tidoré was captured by Van der Hagen on the 19th May 1605, after several unsuccessful assaults, in which the Portuguese fought with determined valour. The fort was finally taken by reason of the explosion of the magazine by a Dutch shell, seventy lives being lost by this accident (*Rec. des Voy.*, pp. 79-85). Prior to the siege, Middleton had been the guest of Capt. de Abreu, and on the surrender interceded effectually with V. der Hagen for the lives of the prisoners (Middleton's *Voyage*, Hak Soc.). The Dutch captain promised to send them to the Manillas. De Abreu,

fortress of *Tidore*, when the Hollanders took it (and they hold it still); the other, being younger, had only had command of a galiot.

During the voyage these three lords had often given me testimony of their great affection, and all the way from Goa to Brazil had frequently assisted me in little ways, such as with clothes and wine, and many a time had we foregathered for a chat. And even in Brazil I considered myself as one of their household, their house being open to me at all hours, when I cared to go there.

They had chartered a caravel to carry them, their suite, baggage, and merchandise, straight to Portugal, to obtain there of the King of Spain the rewards and recompense due for their good service in the Indies, with the intention afterwards to return there, for they were all married in India.

I had been looking for some favourable opportunity of returning, but the difficulty was that a passage costs in all more than a hundred or a hundred and twenty livres; and our carrack being lost, I had no further claim upon the ship's officers—as, indeed, my passport stated; so that every person had to shift for himself. At this juncture these kindly gentlemen offered to pay my passage, which was ten crowns, and to feed me at their table free of all charge. With these assurances, when the caravel was ready I was about to embark with my baggage, but the master of the vessel refused to take me, saying he had once carried a Frenchman who had been taken in a Hollander prize, and this Frenchman had been more trouble than all the rest, wherefore he had made an oath he would never carry another. Hereupon a great dispute arose between the vice-admiral and the master on account of me. For the viceroy

after his return to Portuguese India, and before leaving with Pyrard, was captain of the fort of Mombasa (*Bocarro*, p. 112). What is known of his further history appears below.

had sent the vice-admiral to get me taken on board, and these gentlemen had spoken to the viceroy, who was of the same mind and intention, and had themselves done what they could in the matter. But the misfortune was that it was already night, and the vessel was all ready to sail. The vice-admiral told him angrily that he was sorry these gentlemen should go with a fellow that would never come safely to port. In short, he used dire threats of what would befall if he ever showed face again in that bay. Yet this refusal of the master was my salvation; for when I arrived in Portugal, the first news I got was that these three poor lords had been taken with the caravel by the pirates and carried to Barbary.[1] This intelligence caused me the utmost

[1] These unfortunate gentlemen were probably ransomed in ordinary course. Pedro Alvares de Abreu, alone of the three (his brother not being identified), can be traced after this point in the official documents. On the 13th March 1613 the king despatches an *alvará* to the viceroy, in which he recites that Pedralvares de Albreu, "fidalgo of my house", who served the office of captain of *Tidore* at the time of its loss, when the fortress was destroyed by the explosion of the gunpowder magazine while besieged by the Hollanders and Ternatese, and was oblige to retire without any receipts from his franchise of cloves and other things to which he was so entitled. The king therefore directs that the viceroy shall supply him "with two covered galiots, staunch and capacious, equipped with soldiers and mariners, and provided with all necessaries for the voyage, and supplied with all the apparel of war, offensive as well as defensive, at the cost of my treasury, in which galiots he may go, or which he may send to the Moluccas to obtain all the cloves due to him under his franchise for all the time during which he served the office of captain of Tidore." He does not seem to have gone out to India in 1613, for the *alvará* is endorsed with a further order, dated the 10th March 1614, directing that he is to be supplied with these galiots at the first monsoon after he reaches India. Of the same date (10th March 1614) are two other *alvarás*. The first, after reciting de Abreu's services as above, proceeds:—"I am pleased to direct that in case of his not entering upon the captaincy of the fortress of Chaul, to which I have appointed him, he may bequeath it to any one legitimate son or daughter, that is, to whomsoever she may marry, to serve the said office for the term of three years, upon any vacancy among those appointed before the 8th April 1611, the date of his

regret and sorrow, by reason of the good friendship they bore me.

Frustrate in this quarter, and in great trouble for my return home, I had the good fortune to meet with two Flemings, naturalised Portuguese, who were also glad enough to find us. They were in partnership, and possessed a very fine hulk built at Dunkirk, whose arms she bore; she was of 250 tons burthen. They asked us if we had a mind to go with one of them, for the other was remaining at St. Salvador. This proposal we gladly accepted, offering to go as the other sailors, but without wages. We considered ourselves lucky enough to be allowed to work our passage; while they were pleased to have found us, for we supplied them with three hands without pay. When we were thus come to terms, they bade us get our passport and license in writing from the viceroy. This obtained, we went on board the hulk, which was laden with sugar, and well equipped with cannon and all other provision of arms and munitions. We numbered about sixty persons on board, including my two companions and myself, and also the Fleming,

nomination; provided, however, such person be satisfactory to me or to my viceroy of India." He is also to have the habit of Christ, with 20 mil-reis allowance; he must, however, proceed to India by the ships of this present year, and not otherwise; if he wills the office to a son, that son must be fit for the office, and must prove the bequest, producing the will; if to a daughter, the person she is about to marry must, before the marriage, present himself before the President and Councillors (of the India Council) and prove his fitness for the office, and after the marriage, must prove the marriage according to the form of the Sacred Council of Trent. The second *alvará* authorises de Abreu, in case he leaves no legitimate issue, to bequeath the office to whomsoever he will, on condition of paying his debts. The nominee must, however, be a fidalgo, and approved by the king. De Abreu did not, in fact, proceed to India till 1616, on the 19th March of which year the king gave him a letter of recommendation to the viceroy, requesting the latter (besides obeying his orders as to the galiots) to employ de Abreu in any services, as occasion may offer (*Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 6, Nos. 208, 321, 322, 416).

who had been in our carrack. We left the Bay on the 7th October, 1610.

We had the wind contrary at the first, whereby we were delayed five-and-twenty hours ere we could double the Cape of St. Augustine, which is 100 leagues from the Bay, in the altitude of eight degrees south of the equinoctial. On the 3rd November we doubled the Cape in great peril, because of the shallows and reefs, which we approached quite close. The same day we sighted the town of Fernambuq,[1] which belongs to the Portuguese of Brazil: it is a very well-built town, and has some fine churches.

Two days afterwards we observed a caravel under sail, which put all our people in great fear, as they believed she was a pirate, wherefore we all assumed our arms; afterwards, however, she was discovered to be a Portuguese.

The fifth of December we re-crossed the equinoctial line, coming toward the Arctic Pole. I have crossed it ten or twelve times during my voyage.

On the 25th of the same month we began to see floating on the sea some *goymon*, or green moss, which the Portuguese call *Sargasso*.[2] This herb grows at the bottom of the sea, and is a sign continually seen in those parts: the whole ocean is covered with it, and is as green as a meadow. It begins at the 21st degree, and extends to the 30th.

On the 5th January 1611 we sighted the Açores,[3] amongst

[1] Pernambuco. "It is the greatest town in all that coast", says Lopez Vaz in 1586, "and hath above three thousand houses in it, with seventy Ingenios for sugar, and great store of Brasill-wood, and abundance of cotton, yet are they in great want of victuals, for all their victuals come either from Portugal or from some places on the coast of Brasill" (*Hakluyt*, iii, 787). It is the chief town of the province of the same name, and has a population of nearly 40,000.

[2] Floating seaweed (*fucus natans*), which covers a large area of the Atlantic, off the current of the Gulf Stream.

[3] The Azores first appear on the Genoese map of 1351, now in the Laurentian Library at Florence. They were effectually rediscovered, or rather "found", by the navigators of Prince Henry in 1432. The

others the islands of *Corbo, Flores,* and *Terceira,* which is the chief one, in the altitude of 39½ degrees: here we began to feel the cold, to us a strange sensation.

On the 15th January we descried the coast of Portugal at *Brelingue,*[1] a place eight or ten leagues north of Lisbon; this was in the morning at day-break. We thought we were still sixty leagues off, because the wind was from the south, and it blew a strong gale.

Our design was to enter at Lisbon, but we could not by reason of the contrary winds; whereupon arose a great debate between the captain and a Jew merchant, or, as the Portuguese would call him, *Christiano Nuevo* (the ship was a Flemish hulk of 250 tons, as already described). The captain was a Hollander that had his residence at Lisbon, and was in partnership with another Hollander, to whom belonged the greater part of the goods. The Jew had more than 100,000 crowns' worth of merchandise, most of it his own, the rest put in his care by the principal merchant and others. There was also another Jew on board as rich as he, and four or five other Jew merchants. The profits they make after being nine or ten years in those lands are marvellous, for they all come back rich: many of these new Christians,

first two discovered were Santa Maria and San Miguel (from which we have our St. Michael oranges). The third, thus named Terceira, was originally called the Island of Jesu Christo; its town Angora ("bay") is the capital of the group. The other islands are Graciosa, Saõ Jorge, Fayal, Pico, Corvo, and Flores. On the rediscovery they were named *las ilhas dos Açores*, the "kite islands", from the number of those birds seen there. Terceira, Fayal, and Pico were colonised under grants from the Duchess of Burgundy, to whom the king had assigned them, by emigrants from Flanders, and the whole group thus got the name of the Flemish Islands, which has given rise to the erroneous statement that the first discoverers were from the Low Countries (Major's *Prince Henry the Navigator*, pp. 130-7). The Azores are still a Portuguese possession, and have a population of about 250,000.

[1] The Berlingas Islands in our charts, and by our sailors known as the Burlings. Their light is well known to all ships coasting Portugal.

Jews by race, but baptised, being worth sixty, eighty, and even over a hundred thousand crowns; yet are they slightly esteemed withal. It was, indeed, long since a vessel had arrived with so rich a freight as this had. So, being in view of Brelingue, we determined to make it, the contrary wind notwithstanding. We were thus tacking about continually, now to landward, now to seaward, when suddenly a violent squall overtook us, the wind being contrary, and we close ashore. This put us in great fear, insomuch that the Jew merchant came and said to the captain that, with such weather and wind, there was no likelihood of reaching Lisbon. The captain in reply bade him give him an act signed under his hand, containing a promise that he would bear his share of all expenses, damage, interest, and risks attending the delay; otherwise he (the captain) would remain out at sea where the weather was fine enough, and would await the subsiding of the storm and a fair wind. The merchant refused to give this assurance, and desired him to steer a course for the Bayonne Islands, which were distant some eighty leagues, off Galicia. So saying, he took the helm himself, and brought her round before the wind, whereupon arose a mighty contention, with much abuse and hard words on both sides; but at length peace was made, and the merchant signed the act, and we stood away for the Bayonne Islands off Galicia. Methinks the storm had most to do with appeasing their choler.

We took about five days from Brelingue to these islands, the gale heavy all the while, nay, rather increasing. Hereupon another mischance befell us, to wit, our vessel began to make water in such sort that it could not possibly be kept down, and we were driven so close in shore that we were in double apprehension. One day, among others, some of the mariners led us to believe we were on the right side of the bay, and said they knew it well: which belief was like to ruin us; for, as we were standing a course right up it with the wind fair, and quite close ashore, we found it was not the

bay. It was a very miracle that saved us, for the wind was from the sea, and we were so close ashore that we had great difficulty in doubling the point and getting out. I believe more than 1,500 crowns' worth of vows were made, which were afterwards duly paid. The principal merchant made one of 800 cruzados: to wit, 400 for an orphan girl to marry withal, and 400 for a lamp and other utensils for a shrine of Our Lady that is hard by. As soon as he set foot on land he sought out an orphan girl, and fulfilled his promise to her, as also to the churchwardens of the said church. Many others, too, did the like; nor did any fail therein, according to his means and the extent of his vows. It is a custom of the Portuguese, when they are in peril, to make these vows; but the worst of it is that it makes them indolent and careless about working stoutly to save their lives.

In short, from Lisbon to these islands, we thought we were lost more than ten times on account of the unseaworthiness of our ship and the proximity of the shore, towards which the sea-wind was driving us with such violence that it tore all our sails: in such extreme peril was I placed at the end of my ten years' voyage. So indeed it oftens happens that, after many long, distressful, dangerous voyages, men come to be lost at the very port, as has been seen in the case of many viceroys, who, after their endless course of larceny and robbery in the Indies, at length come to be lost at the very port of Lisbon, themselves and all their gains.

When we were at last on the point of entering the bay of the Bayonne Islands,[1] on the coast of Galicia, we met a small vessel on the same course, the sight of which gave us great fear and apprehension, though we were well equipped with cannon and arms, and numbered sixty men; for I may say

[1] Islas de Bayona, at the entrance to the Bay of Vigo, which they protect as a breakwater, so called from the town of Bayona on the mainland. More properly they are called the *Cies*, *Ciccas*, the Cicæ of Pliny.

with truth that the Portuguese are not men of valour on the sea, nor, for the matter of that, on land either. They are good merchants, mariners, and pilots, and that is all. I am sure fifteen or twenty Frenchmen, English, or Hollanders could easily have taken us; and the vessel was worth more than 500,000 crowns. The day before, a cruizer had taken a caravel in the same place, and when we entered the two were at anchor there together, the caravel discharging. They were, however, on the one side, while we passed to the other and made for the town. There are three or four little towns in this bay.[1]

Thus happily landed, the 15th of January 1611, I remembered the vow I had made while yet in the Indies (as already told[2]), to wit, that if God gave me grace to come again to Spain, I would make the pilgrimage of St. James in Galicia. To this end did I continually with stout heart offer my prayers to God while at sea, and that it might please Him I should land at any other place than Lisbon, for the certain fear I had lest we should be held prisoners there. Indeed, all the other foreigners that had come from the Indies had been given in charge to the captains of the ships by the Viceroy of Goa; yet, forasmuch as our ship was lost in the Bay of All Saints, our captain was no longer responsible for us, and we were free. Nevertheless, had we landed at Lisbon, we should have been arrested as prisoners all the same. But the Divine Providence was pleased to bring us in safety to these Bayonne Islands, where, casting anchor, we found a number of French ships riding there for purposes of traffic. As soon as their crews were aware of our arrival, they all came out of wonder to see us, and it was then we learnt all that had passed in France. It was now ten years since we had had certain news.

We went ashore, and spent some days in refreshing our-

[1] It does not appear whether he landed at Bayona, Vigo, or at Cangas.

[2] See vol. i, p. 310.

selves with the French and Portuguese there, and then bade good-bye to the Portuguese of our ship, returning them our thanks, and especially to the captain, who out of kindness gave me some pieces of money. I then resolved to accomplish my vow, so, leaving there my two companions, who were unwilling yet to leave the place, and whom I have never seen again, I took my journey straight for St. James, which is ten leagues off, passing by the way the town of *Ponte-Vedra*,[1] a handsome and busy place.

There were some vessels of Bayonne and St. Jean de Lutz[2] being at anchor at the time, and I then remembered that I had some letters of my countrymen who were detained at the Bay of all Saints in Brazil. I got information of the various persons to whom the letters were addressed, and by good fortune meeting them there, delivered to them the letters, and told them all the news of their friends, whereof they were exceeding glad. They gave me good cheer on board their ships, keeping me to spend the night; and on the morrow, after good entertainment, they made me presents of some money, and came to escort me a full quarter of a league out of the town. I then took my leave, thanking them warmly for the benefits and honour I had received of them, and then took my way towards *Campostelle*[3] to pay my vow;

[1] Pontevedra, a picturesque old town, now of 21,000 inhabitants, at the head of the next *ria*, or bay, north of that of Vigo.

[2] Bayonne and St. Jean de Luz, the French towns of the department of the Basses Pyrénées.

[3] The bones of St. James were discovered near the site of the present city in A.D. 835 by Bishop Theodomir, and a cathedral-shrine was finished in 874. Compostella (Jacom' hospitella) rapidly became one of the two or three chief places of pilgrimage in Christendom. In the Maritime Ordinances of Trani (A.D. 1063) it is mentioned along with the Holy Sepulchre and Rome. With Englishmen it was the favourite foreign pilgrimage, "à Saint James en pelerinage ou à aucun autre lieu" (*Black Book of the Admiralty*, Rolls Series, i, 157). It was one of the chief places on the Wife of Bath's list:—

"At Rome sche hadde ben, and at Boloyne,
In Galice at seynt Jame, and at Coloyne."
(Chaucer, *Prol.*, 467.)

I arrived there by God's grace the same day, and remained three days performing my devotions. There I met the Fleming or Hollander of whom I have already spoken somewhat, that came with us from Goa. I found him in the hospital grievously sick; but seeing me, he determined to take courage and try to come with me to France. Nevertheless, we had not marched a quarter of a league out of the town, when he was constrained out of weakness to halt and return, and I have not heard any news of him since.

Having thus paid my vows to St. James, I went to *la Corugne*, or *Crugne*,[1] one of the best towns and seaports in all the coast of Galicia, a distance of ten leagues, there to endeavour to get a passage to France.

After a sojourn of three days at this place, I found no opportunity or means of taking ship, but got word that at a little port about ten leagues off, between *Corugne* and

The cathedral above-mentioned was destroyed by the Moor Al-Mansúr in 997; the present one dates from 1078. It is a very fine church, built on the model of St. Sernin at Toulouse, and probably by the same architect. The exceptionally grand west door is figured in Street's *Gothic Architecture in Spain*, and is represented by a cast in the South Kensington Museum. The objects of the pilgrimage were the statue of the saint, and the box which was supposed to have contained his bones; but for centuries the relics themselves had disappeared. In 1884 a workman discovered some bones, which have been authenticated by the Committee of Relics at Rome as those of the Apostle; but it may be feared that the shrine, though thus supplemented, will not again attract any such stream of pilgrims as in the ages of faith when the box sufficed.

[1] La Coruña, in French *Corogne*, in English Corunna, but in Elizabethan days "the Groyne". Few regions are so notable in English history as this corner of Spain. At Corunna John of Gaunt landed to claim the Castilian crown; and Philip II embarked to marry our English queen. From this port the Armada sailed in July 1588; nine months later the tables were turned, and Corunna was destroyed by Drake and Norris. Vigo and Finisterre recall the victories of Rooke in 1702, and of Hawke and Anson in 1747. Lastly, the retreat and death of Sir John Moore at Corunna in 1807 gave to that town an English fame which poetry has rendered imperishable.

another town called *Betance*,[1] there was a small Rochelle barque of 35 tons, laden with oranges, and ready to sail. I took the road forthwith; but, on arriving at the place, found it quite otherwise, for the barque was not half laden, nor was she fully so for twelve days thereafter. However, seeing no other means, I resolved to wait, praying the master to give me a passage when he should go. This he promised most willingly, regretting that he could not leave for fifteen days. This news afflicted me sorely on account of the expense, my purse having but small store of money. Yet was it well for me that living was not so dear there as in a big town, and also that at the time there was one of the greatest catches of fish I have ever seen, chiefly sardines of the finest and largest description, insomuch that you got them for almost nothing; for a sou I got more than I could eat in a whole day. Moreover, I used frequently to go with the skipper to the country, and accompanied him in his buying and collecting of oranges and lemons. We went twice or thrice to *Betance* together, and he would not have me pay for anything when in his company.

I also lodged with a kind host and hostess, who treated me with much civility, and did not make me pay half the cost of my living. Having thus waited ten or twelve days, I was one evening notified by the master of the barque that he would be ready to take me on board the following day, and that I should make some provision for my victuals, for as to my passage, he would take nothing. When he heard all my adventures and fortunes he was much pleased at this *rencontre*. Having thus embarked, we had the wind so fair that we were but six-and-thirty hours in crossing over to Rochelle, where, thanks to God, we happily arrived the 5th of February. Then praising God with all my heart, I had assurance of seeing once again the land of France, for which I had prayed with so much desire. The master

[1] Betanzos.

who gave me this passage was named *Jean Arnoul*, and was of the island of Oleron.[1] He deemed himself lucky to have brought me, and gave me good cheer at La Rochelle, willing not that I should take lodging elsewhere than at his house, and took great pride in showing me the sights of the town, and presenting me to his friends, who greatly caressed me and did me much honour. After some days I bade him farewell, and took the road to the town of Niort,[2] where the fair must be held. Here I met with many merchants of my native place, which is the town of Laval in Brittany; and thither I returned with them the 16th day of February, in the year 1611, for which God be praised!

[1] A small island opposite the mouths of the Charente and Seudre, chiefly famous for its ancient maritime court, which gave its name to the celebrated code of mediæval sea-laws known as the "Laws of Oleron". The earliest known manuscript (early 14th cent.) is preserved in the Guildhall archives of the City of London. (See the laws themselves, in the *Black Book of the Admiralty*, Rolls Series.)

[2] On the river Sèvre, chief town of the department of the Deux Sèvres.

Louange à Dieu.

Porte Beucheresse, Laval.

TREATISE

OF

ANIMALS, TREES, AND FRUITS.

Treatise and Description of the animals, trees, and fruits of the East Indies, observed by the Author.

ALTHOUGH many have written amply of the nature, forms, and habits of many animals to us unknown, and of the trees and fruits of the East Indies; nevertheless, having seen and known them so thoroughly and for so long, and having handled them not once but countless times, and having lived upon them, I have felt myself constrained to put in writing the results of my long experience, assuring myself that none, perhaps, will have observed their nature with the same particularity.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Elephants and Tigers.

THE elephant is the largest of all animals, with the most judgment and intelligence; one might even say he possesses the use of reason; he is also of vast profit and service to man. If it be desired to mount him, this animal is so supple, obedient, and disciplined to the service of man, to wit, of such as he is willing to serve, that he will bend low and himself assist one to mount with the aid of his trunk.

This animal loves of all things to be praised and caressed; this done, he is humble and obedient; nevertheless, his strength is so great that without experience none can know it. I have seen one with his tusks carry two metal cannons,

tied and bound round about with ropes, and weighing each three thousand weight. He lifted them all alone, and carried them some 500 paces. I have also seen an elephant draw ships and galleys ashore, or launch them afloat.[1] These elephants are of a wonderful nature, seeing they will obediently do whatever they are required, provided only they be treated with kindness.

Throughout all the Malabar country, and even in the realm of Dealcan or Decan, I have remarked that only the Nairs tame and train this animal; and at Calecut I have seen little Nair boys caressing little elephants, and leading them hither and thither, and so becoming familiar with them. Only Nairs control them, give them their food, and lead them about the town or elsewhere, and none others would dare to come near them. Led by his Nair, no animal is more docile or tractable; he does all that is told him, caresses any one pointed out to him, admits all sorts of persons to mount him, extends his trunk, which serves him as a hand, and assists them to mount, or, in the case of a child, lifts it with his trunk and places it on his back. But if the Nair is not there, none is so bold as to touch him; such a one he would kill. On his nose he carries a great trunk, which is very long and like a gut (*boyau*), which he sways about; it serves him for a hand to convey his food to his mouth, and for other uses; yet is it so strong that with it he will seize a man, lift him high in air, and then dash him to the ground; thus indeed are malefactors executed at Calecut.[2] I was also told of one at Goa that some time ago killed many

[1] Varthema, a century before this time, describes the beaching of vessels at Cannanor: "They put the side of the vessel foremost, and under the said ship they put three pieces of wood, and on the side next the sea I saw three elephants kneel down and with their heads push the ship on to dry land" (p. 127).

[2] The employment of elephants as executioners dates from very early times. Tennent quotes 3 *Maccabees*, v, 42, and Ælian, *Hist. Anim.*, viii, 10.

persons in this manner as he went about the town, although he had a conductor; and, indeed, I have seen some that could not be approached, though they had their Nairs: these were of a more cruel nature.

When they lead them to war, they attach to their trunks a sword, wherewith they strike their enemies. I have seen some with these swords attached for parade, and they brandished them about in furious style.[1] These animals eat no flesh, not even when wild, but live only on branches and leaves of trees, which they break off with their trunks, and they will chew even thick wood. In captivity they are more delicate in their living, and must have their rice well cooked, and served with butter and sugar, and made up into big balls; they require full a hundred pounds of rice a day, besides leaves of trees, chiefly of the Indian fig, which we call *Bananes*, and the Turks[2] *Plantenes*. The reason why only

[1] This was a very ancient practice; but we have no good testimony as to the dexterity of these armed trunks. Mas'údi (10th century) says that the Prince of Mansura, south of the Indus, "maintained eighty elephants trained for war, each of which bore in his trunk a bent scymitar, with which he was taught to cut and thrust at all confronting him. The trunk itself was effectively protected by a coat of mail, and the rest of the body enveloped in a covering composed jointly of iron and horn." The Russian, Nikitin, thus writes of the Deccan: "Elephants are greatly used in battle. The men on foot are sent first, the Khorassanians being mounted in full armour, man as well as horse. Large scythes are attached to the trunks and tusks of the elephants, and the animals are clad in ornamental plates of steel. They carry a citadel, and in the citadel twelve men in armour, with guns and arrows" (*India in 15th Century*, iii, 12).

[2] I cannot account for this notion. The word "plantain" is the Spanish *platano* or *plantano*; while the Turks, in all probability, know the fruit by its Arabic name, *mauz*, whence its botanical generic *Musa*. Col. Yule remarks (*Gloss.*, s. v. *Plantain*), that many authors have distinguished the banana and the plantain, identifying the former with the smaller fruit, the *Musa paradisaica*, and the latter with the larger, the *Musa sapientum*; but this distinction cannot be supported. The name banana (and Indian fig) was applied to all varieties of the *Musa*, as well by the Portuguese as by most Oriental travellers of the 16th and 17th

kings keep them is because of the cost of their maintenance,[1] and in the keeping of many is shown their magnificence and power; for this animal is of great service, even in war. I have seen a number in possession of the King of Calecut. The King of Bengala has 10,000; and the Grand Mogor, otherwise called *Acoubar* (which means "the Great King"), as I heard from many Indians and others who had been at his court, maintains as many as 30,000.[2]

Further, it is a remarkable fact that this animal never covers the female, in whatever heat he be, while any one is by. Some will have it they have no joints in their legs,[3] and that they never lie down; but this is false, for they bend themselves and lie down at their pleasure. I need say no more, seeing that many have already written of them.

Of tigers there are a vast number in the Indies; indeed, they are commoner than wolves here. It is a most ferocious and mischievous animal, which will not flee from men except they be in great numbers, but, on the contrary, will pursue,

centuries: 'plantain' was more general in the Spanish West Indies. Curiously enough, 'plantain' is the common word in Anglo-India, probably because English connection with the West Indies preceded that with the East; while 'banana' is now the prevailing term in the London fruit market. The plant is of Asiatic origin; but the statement of its existence in Peru before the Conquest, made by so high an authority as Garcilasso, has given rise to some doubt. The subject is discussed by De Candolle (*Origin of Cult. Plants*, pp. 304-311).

[1] Emerson Tennent says that an ordinary elephant engrosses the attention of three men, and that the daily cost of his keeping amounts to about 3*s.* 6*d.* (*Ceylon*, ii, 396).

[2] See vol. i, p. 327, and above, p. 251.

[3] This fallacy, as Sir Thomas Browne says, is "not the daughter of latter times, but an old and grey-headed errour, even in the days of Aristotle" (*De Anim.*, lib. II, c. i), who got it from Ctesias. The text above shows that the notion was still current, requiring personal testimony to confute it. About the same time Shakespeare is only half convinced—

> "The elephant hath joints; but none for courtesy:
> His legs are for necessity, not flexure."
>
> (*Troilus and Cressida*, Act ii, sc. 3.)

attack, and devour them. The kings take great pleasure in hunting tigers, both for the purpose of ridding the country of them and saving the poor people, and also because therein are the valour and bravery of their noblesse shown forth and proved. The Nayres are continually hunting them, engaging them with sword and buckler; nor is this without danger, for the beast is bold and savage. The Nayres having slain him, drag him before the king with great honour and triumph. I have seen many bring their spoil before him thus, and many too that were grievously wounded in the encounter.[1] These tigers are of the height of a mastiff, but longer, with big heads resembling that of a cat. The skin is passing fair, all marked with white, black, and red. They live by hunting their prey, and are especially fond of fowls.

CHAPTER II.

Of Crocodiles and Turtles.

There are vast numbers of crocodiles in the rivers of the Island of St. Lawrence, of the Bengal coast, the Malabar country, and of Guinea and Angola.

The crocodiles live in fresh water; they are of great size, and being covered with scales, are therefore very difficult to kill, but the belly is tender and easy to pierce. They have an odour of musk, as we perceived from those we killed at the Island of St. Lawrence[2]; for as soon as they were struck all the air was, as it were, perfumed with musk, and even the banks had the same odour. They who have eaten the flesh say it is very delicate and good; but, for my part, I never tasted it, and had no fancy to try it.[3] The mouth is garnished with very sharp teeth, those of the lower jaw overlapping and

[1] See vol. i, pp. 382, 400.

[2] See vol. i, p. 37.

[3] "To my taste", says Sir S. Baker, "nothing can be more disgusting than crocodile flesh. I have tasted almost everything, but

transpiercing the upper jaw, which is all marked with the cavities wherein to the teeth pass, and it is the upper jaw that works.[1]

The turtles float on the surface of the water in order to bask in the sun; some are of such a size that the shell of one would suffice to roof a little hut or cot, and to cover ten or more persons sitting.[2] There are vast numbers of them at the Maldives, and some little islands you may see inhabited by no other animals than these great turtles, but covered with them. On our arrival at the Maldives we caught a great one with 500 or 600 large eggs, like yellow hen's eggs. We boiled them in fresh water, and ate them; indeed, we lived upon them for three or four days, our company numbering forty persons, and with nothing else to eat. The flesh is very rich and delicate, like veal; but as we ate it without bread, salt, or other dressing, many fell sick, and for my case, I was very ill, vomiting continually, and sometimes spitting blood.[3] The islanders make use of the shell for their bucklers and other utensils and commodities.

At the Maldives there is another smaller kind,[4] but even these are three or four feet in diameter, more or less. The shell is brown, part of it running to black, part to red, very smooth and shining, and so wonderfully patterned that when polished it is an article of great beauty. The reason why it is greatly sought after by all the kings, lords, and rich people in the Indies, and chiefly by those of Cambaye and Surat, is that it is made into boxes and caskets garnished with gold and silver, also into bracelets and other ornaments.[5] It is

although I have tasted crocodile, I could never succeed in swallowing it. The combined flavour of bad fish, rotten flesh, and musk is the *carte de dîner* offered to the epicure."

[1] This is an old belief—unfounded, of course.

[2] This is the loggerhead turtle (*Couanea olivacea*), Maldive *musimbi*. As to its size, see Tennent's *Ceylon*, ii, 190.

[3] Repeated from vol. i, pp. 65, 66.

[4] Probably the hawksbill turtle (*Caretta imbricata*), which supplies the tortoiseshell of commerce.

[5] See above, p. 248.

found only at the Maldives and at the Philippines or Manillas, and is one of the most valued articles of merchandise exported thence. The nature of this animal and its tenacity of life are indeed remarkable; for the islanders, when they catch one, put it near the fire, and then take off the shell, separating it from the turtle in pieces, the largest being the best, and fetching the best prices. They do not remove the whole in one piece, as in the case of the common tortoises. Next they put back the turtle all alive into the sea, where it grows a fresh shell, it being prohibited to kill them.[1] Furthermore, they never eat any kind of tortoise, because, say they, this animal has some kind of conformity and kinship with man.[2]

CHAPTER III.

Of the Fish of the Indian Sea, and more particularly those of the Maldives.

The sea under the Torrid Zone bears some strange fish, very different from those of our seas. Amongst others, strange to say, are certain fish that eat and devour men. At the Maldives are many of these, for they love the shallow water there, and roam in great numbers. The fish is very large, nine or ten feet in length, and big in proportion, *i.e.* more than a man's armful; it has no scales, but is covered with a kind of hide of a dark hue, albeit white under the belly, though not of the same

[1] "If taken from the animal after death and decomposition, the colour of the shell becomes cloudy and milky, and hence the cruel expedient is resorted to of seizing the turtles as they repair to the shore to deposit their eggs, and suspending them over fires till heat makes the plate on the dorsal shields start from the bones of the carapace, after which the creature is permitted to escape to the water." (Tennent, *Ceylon*, ii, 190.)

[2] This is not quite true of the Maldivians; Mr. Bell informs me that they eat certain varieties.

thickness or toughness as that of the whale. The head is round, high, and somewhat broad, garnished with a number of great pointed teeth set in many rows. The inhabitants of the Maldives are much incommoded by these animals, for they come and devour them as they fish and bathe, or, at least, dock their arms or legs. You see there many of the people that have lost a leg or an arm, or a hand, or have been wounded elsewhere in their bodies by the bites of these fish. I have seen many at the Maldives thus maimed; indeed, I have seen some of these fish caught with whole limbs of men in their bellies. Every day some accident happens, because it is the usual custom of the people to bathe and wash in the sea. One day I was like to have been seized by them as I passed from one island to another by a narrow ferry. The Maldivians have assured me that these fish go in troops, and have many a time attacked little boats and fishers' wherries, and capsizing these, have devoured the men. This never happened while I was there, but every one described the affair as a thing certain: they say that God sends these animals to punish them for their sins. They call these fish *Paimones*.[1] There is also another smaller kind, called by the Portuguese *Tuberons*,[2] which have the head broad and round, the mouth exceedingly large, with a number of teeth in several rows, and also covered with a skin instead of scales, just like the former; they also eat human flesh, and devour or maim such as they find bathing or swimming in the sea. They are found in all those seas, and sometimes follow ships in search of their prey, even eating shirts and sheets that are left to soak in the water. And it is a wondrous thing to relate that they have always about them certain little fish of a dark skin, and rough under the belly, which by means of this roughness fasten themselves to the tuberon, and cannot be eaten by him.

[1] M. *femunu;* see vol. i, p. 96.

[2] Port. *tuberão*, M. *miyaru.* Sir R. Hawkins gives a good description of the "shark or tiberune" (*Hawk. Voy.*, pp. 250-1).

The Maldives abound in fish more than any place in the world. The natives are exceedingly dainty, and eat only the best and most delicate, despising the rest. There is a little fish about a foot or thereabouts in length, square at the four corners, and covered with a shell of one piece, so hard that it requires a hatchet to break it, with only the point of its tail turned back to serve it for a helm; the shell is of a yellowish colour, and marked with dark stars. On this score some call it the star-fish.[1] It is the most delicate eating imaginable; the flesh is white, firm, and without any bones. You would say it was chicken, so good is it. You see there, too, many rays of vast size, some from six to seven feet broad; the natives, however, take no count of them, and never eat them, considering this fish not to be good. I have, however, eaten it, and found it as good as it is here. But, as I have said, they are so dainty and nice, and have so abundant a supply, that they disdain to eat most of the fish that are like ours, finding them not good enough for their tastes. The larger rays, however, they skin, and with the dried skin, after it is well stretched, they make their drums, using none other.[2] A number of their fishes have a hard shell; thus there are crustaceans of all sorts, and some of great size; some I have seen whose shells blazed out into divers colours, and were very beautiful to see.[3] Of these there is one kind like that called by the sailors *crabes*, which abounds at the Maldives, and is of extraordinary size; it frequents both sea and land, where it hollows out great holes for its retreat. I have seen some with claws bigger than the two fists. Some islands are full of them, to the great annoyance and inconvenience of the inhabitants, who often get wounds through being caught in their claws; and in some of the islands none durst go about at night, because these creatures are then abroad, and swarm every-

[1] Probably one of the skates or rays (M. *maḍi*, Sin. *maḍu*).

[2] The Maldive *tari* or tambourine is still made of this skin. Mr. Bell has given a specimen to the Colombo Museum.

[3] The Maldives, like the Laccadives, are a "perfect paradise for crabs", as Mr. Allen Hume says in *Stray Feathers*, iv, p. 435.

where. Thus did it happen to me once to be wounded by them as I was walking about by night. The people suffer annoyance also from another large fish,[1] all covered with hard, pointed spikes like awls, four inches in length; nor is there any part of its body that is without them. When the people go a-fishing betimes, one treads upon one of them, and runs his feet upon these spikes, the wounds of which are considered venomous.

The sea in those parts is full of vipers or sea serpents,[2] which bite those they meet. As for flying fish,[3] they are met with everywhere under the Torrid Zone, and chiefly near the equinoctial line. Besides those I saw at sea during our voyage, I have seen many at the Maldives; but having spoken of them in my relation of our voyage, I will not repeat here what I have there written.

Moreover, I have been astonished to see so many different kinds of fish to us unknown, small and great, and of all shapes, whereof some are attired in gaudy colours, others glitter as if they were covered with gold; in short, a diversity so multitudinous that one can only wonder and confess that the marvels of our Creator are more apparent in the sea than in any other portion of His handiwork.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Parrots, and a wondrous Bird that is bred in China.

All India, Africa, Brazil, and the islands adjacent thereto abound (amongst many other sorts of birds) with vast numbers of parrots of all kinds. Some are of a grey and

[1] The sea-hedgehog, M. *Kaḍu-burafati* (Kaḍu = sea; burafati = anything with points that turns round, *e.g.*, a weathercock).

[2] Mr. Bell, in his Report, mentions two kinds, *Hydrophis spiralis* (M. *fen-harufá*) and *Pelamis bicolor* (M. *máridá*), as being much dreaded by the natives.

[3] See vol. i, p. 9.

violet plumage: these are found in the island of St. Lawrence, and are good eating, of the same flavour as wood pigeons; we ate many of them during our sojourn there.[1] The largest green parrots brought home here come from Guinea, Cape Verd, and Brazil. Those of the Indies are green too; but smaller, more tractable, and speak passing well. There is another kind, very large and all white. You see also little parrots no bigger than sparrows. In Brazil, some are all red, some all yellow, and of many other single colours: these are all much bigger than the others. As for herons, they frequent the sea, and are to be seen in great numbers under the Torrid Zone.

While I was at the Maldives a bird landed upon one of the islands, of prodigious form and size. This bird is three feet in height, the body exceedingly thick, more than a man could embrace; the plumage is all white, like a swan's; the feet are flat, as with birds that swim; the neck is half a fathom, and the beak half an ell in length; at the end of the beak above is a kind of crooked hook; the lower jaw is much larger than the upper, and has a large pocket depending therefrom, very capacious, and of a yellowish golden colour, like parchment. The king was greatly astonished to think whence this animal could have come, and what was its nature, and inquired of all who had come from foreign parts, but none could resolve the matter. At length arrived certain strangers, who informed him that this animal was peculiar to China, being bred only there, and that the Chinese use it for catching fish, inasmuch as this animal swims in the water like other water-fowl, and for long whiles at a time. It catches fish industriously, filling the great creel or pocket which hangs beneath its beak, and is so large and capacious as to carry therein many fish of two feet in length each. The king hearing of this bird, wondered exceedingly how it was possible for it to have come alone from China, a

[1] See vol. i, p. 37.

distance of more than 1,200 leagues. He then wished to see it tried, and sometimes had its neck tied and bound round, leaving only enough room for breathing, so that it should not swallow the fish, but should come back with its pocket full: this is the artifice employed in China. I have seen it in this manner go into the sea for a long space, and return laden with fish. It used to go out to sea for a considerable time, sometimes remaining away a whole day, which leads me to believe it not impossible that it had come from China, for it loves the sea and tarries there a long time, catching fish for its food. In addition to this, I have been assured by numberless Indians of all parts that fowls of this kind are bred in China alone.[1]

In Brazil, on my arrival there, I saw two very rare animals. They were of the form, height, and proportions of a small mule, but not of the same nature, for this species of animal is distinct, engendering and bringing forth young after his kind. The skin is wondrously fair to see, being smooth and shiny like velvet; the hair is short, and, what is more strange, it is composed in bands of pure white and deep black, so orderly arranged, even to the ears, the tail, and other extremities, that one can only say of its whole aspect that the art of man could hardly effect the like. Moreover, this beast is very wild, and is never quite domes-

[1] Buffon refers to this passage, *Hist. Nat. des Oiseaux*, ix, p. 171. With respect to the pelican fishing for its masters he quotes Labat (*Nouv. Voy. aux îles d'Amérique*, tom. viii, p. 296), who states, on the authority of Father Raimond, that the bird was so trained by the Caribs. There is no ground for discrediting Pyrard's testimony as an eye-witness, and there is no improbability in the fact. I am not aware, however, of any authority corroborating him as regards this use of the bird in China, where the employment of cormorants in the same capacity is common enough. Mr. P. L. Sclater, F.R.S., informs me that the bird described as visiting the Maldives was probably a *P. onocrotalus*, which, as Jerdon states (*Birds of India*, iii, 856), "is a regular visitant to India during the cold weather, sometimes appearing in considerable flocks."

ticated; in the natural state they are passing savage, and devour men. They are called by the name given them in their own country, that is, *esures*.[1] They are bred at Angola, in Africa, whence they had been brought to Brazil to be afterward presented to the King of Spain; they were taken quite young and small, and had been tamed a little; nevertheless, there was but one man who tended them, or durst approach them. In fact, just a little while before my arrival, one of them, that had by chance got loose, killed a groom, and would have devoured the body, had it not been torn from between his teeth. The keeper, too, showed me a number of marks where they had bitten him, though they were tied with a very short halter. The skin of this animal is certainly one of the most beautiful things imaginable.

CHAPTER V.

Of Pepper and Ginger, Mace and Musk, Cloves and Cinnamon.

Pepper[2] grows in abundance at Cochin, Calecut, Cananor, Barcelor, and all along the Malabar coast. It is thence only the Portuguese take it, and none others dare buy it in those parts. There is also great store of it in the islands of Sumatra and Java, whence the Arabs and all other Indians, and latterly

[1] Probably for *sevres* = *zebres*. The word zebra is said by Littré to be of Ethiopian origin.

[2] These paragraphs on the varieties of pepper are very accurate. Both black and white pepper are obtained from the same climbing plant, *Piper nigrum*, which is indigenous in Malabar. The white is obtained by removing the dark outer layer of pericarp, thereby depriving it of a part of its pungency (Yule, *Gloss.*). As to long pepper, which is the fruit-spike of the shrubs *Piper officinarum* and *Piper longum*, see above, vol. i, p. 328. In the African trade it seems to have gone under the name of *manigueta* (see above, p. 221).

the Hollanders, English, and others that voyage thither, in despite of the King of Spain, supply themselves withal; it is bigger and heavier than that of Malabar, and the Indians prize it more; the Portuguese, however, boast theirs to be the best, saying it has more strength. There are three kinds, black, white, and long. The long grows in Bengala, Brazil, and Guinea.

The black and white pepper (these being the same) comes from a plant or tree like ivy, which is planted at the foot of another tree; as it grows it entwines itself and climbs up to the top of the tree, just like the vine, the hop, the ivy, or any other climber. The leaf resembles that of the orange. The fruit grows in little bunches, rather long, in fact, resembling red currants. At first it is green, when nearly ripe it becomes red, and when dried, black. It is gathered in the months of December and January.

Ginger[1] is commoner than pepper, and is found all over India, also in Brazil and at the island of St. Lawrence. I have not been at any place in the Indies that I did not find ginger. The King of Spain prohibits the export of it in bulk, because otherwise it would interfere with the sale of his pepper, inasmuch as many would content themselves with the former. It is a root that grows in the ground like the iris plant. The Indians make of it a great variety of conserves.

[1] The root of *Zingiber officinale*, the word being the Arabic *zānjabīl* (Yule, *Gloss.*). The cultivation of this plant was very wide-spread in the old world even in classical times, but it does not seem to have been found in its wild state. De Candolle, curiously, does not discuss the plant at all in his *Origin of Cult. Plants*. It was introduced into Brazil after the discovery, and, as stated above (p. 313), throve greatly there. The apprehension that the export of ginger would interfere with the sale of pepper is curious. The reason was that the virtues of both were similar, Paludanus observing of pepper, "it warmeth the mawe, and consumeth the cold slymenes thereof"; and of ginger, "it heateth a cold mawe, and is good against humours" (*Linschoten*, ii, pp. 75, 80).

Nutmegs[1] and mace grow only in the island of Banda, which is distant twenty-four leagues from the Moluccas, but in such quantity there that this island supplies the world. The nutmeg ripens thrice a year, namely, in April, August, and December, the April crop being the best. The tree is most like the peach; the fruit is covered with a rind or very thick skin; when ripe it opens like a nut, and the nutmeg is discovered with another rind, which is the mace: this is of a red colour, but as it dries it comes away, and the colour turns to orange. This mace is of great virtue in fortifying and warming the stomach, in expelling wind, and in digesting food.

Cloves[2] grow only at the Moluccas. The leaves of the tree resemble those of the laurel; the wood, and even the leaves, have almost the same taste as the fruit, or but slightly different. All around the tree grows no other herb, because the roots are so hot that they attract all the humidity. This is proved by placing a sack of cloves over a vessel full of water; the water is consumed and diminished, while the cloves are increased in bulk.

While the flower of the clove is blooming it is white; then it turns to yellow, and at length to red, and it is then the clove is begotten in the flower, and the scent is strongest and best. The odour is the sweetest and most delightful that can be imagined; and one standing within the full force of these flowers would say the whole air was perfumed with the scent.

[1] The nutmeg does grow at the Moluccas, but not so luxuriantly as at Banda.

[2] *Caryophyllus aromaticus*, L. The clove is probably indigenous in the Moluccas, where alone it was found to exist three centuries ago (*De Candolle*, p. 161). It is curious that this spice seems not to have been known to the Romans, nor to any Europeans till the discovery of the Moluccas by the Portuguese. The clove itself is the calix or flower-bud of the plant.

When the clove is ripe it falls to the ground. They are gathered and steeped in sea-water, then dried upon wicker-trays under which fire is placed, the fumes turning the clove black, which before was red.

Cinnamon grows only in the island of Ceylon, and there in so great abundance that the most part of the country is covered with it,[1] as ours here is with underwood and forest. The tree is like the olive, the leaves like those of the laurel; it bears a white flower, and a fruit like a ripe olive. It has two barks; the first is worthless, the second is the true cinnamon, which is stripped on the tree, and allowed to dry there; afterwards, when dry, it is gathered. In other two or three years it grows again, without the tree suffering any harm.[2]

This tree will not grow without being planted. In that country is so great a store of cinnamon that a pound of it is worth on the spot no more than six deniers.

[1] A mistake: the cinnamon (*Cinnamonum zeylanicum*) grows only on the western coast of Ceylon, between Chilaw and Matura, and chiefly in a small area around Colombo. The author probably argues from what he saw of the cinnamon gardens of Colombo. For a full account of the history of cinnamon as an article of commerce, see Flückiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*, p. 467.

[2] This may have been the former method of gathering the bark, but it is not the modern practice. The finest growth of bark is that of the younger shoots of about three years. The branches of this age are lopped, and the bark then removed in strips (see full accounts of the cultivation and preparation in Percival's *Ceylon*, p. 340; Cordiner, *Ceylon*, ii, p. 405; Thunberg, *Travels*, iv, pp. 194-204).

CHAPTER VI.

Of Anil or Indigo, Musk, Ambergris, Benjoin, Sandal, and Aloes-wood.

The *Anil*, otherwise called *Indigo*,[1] is found only in the kingdom of Cambaye and Surat.[2] It is a herb that grows like rosemary, and comes up from seed; when gathered it is dried, then steeped and dried again several times until it becomes blue. It is greatly prized as a dye, and is one of the best commodities of the Indies.

Ambergris[3] is produced from the sea, and chiefly under the Torrid Zone; I have seen great quantities of it at the Maldives, where it is found on the sea-beach. None of the natives of the countries visited by me know for certain whence it comes or how it grows. It is only known that it comes from the sea.

Musk[4] comes from China alone. It proceeds from a little animal of the size of a cat. To get the musk they kill this animal, and beat it all over in its skin, and so let it rot; when rotten they make little purses of the skin, and fill them with the flesh, minced small, and thus sell it. The Chinese drive a great trade in this commodity, but they mix and adulterate it, like everything else that comes from their

[1] *Anil* is the Portuguese name, from the Ar. *al nīl*, which itself is the Sansk. *nīla*, "blue". *Indigo* is from the Greek Ἰνδικόν, and the Latin *Indicum*, probably through the Italian (see Yule, *Gloss.*, under both names). The native place of the cultivated variety (*Indigofera tinctoria*) is unknown, several wild species being found in India, but not in the parts where the former is cultivated. (*De Candolle*, p. 136.)

[2] Incorrect: much was then, and is still, grown in Agra province.

[3] See vol. i, p. 229.

[4] The musk deer (*Moschus moschiferus*) is found in the Himālayas and northwards to Tartary, at a high elevation, generally over 8,000 feet. (Yule, *Gloss.*) It is at least as large as a roebuck. The process described is also quite erroneous.

hands. Wherefore it is never seen in its pure and natural state.

Civets[1] are found in great quantity throughout all the Indies.

Benjoin[2] proceeds, like every other gum, from a very lofty tree; it is highly aromatic. It is produced chiefly at Malacca and in Sumatra.

White Sandal[3] is a tree that grows in the Indies, and in great abundance at the island of St. Lawrence; red sandal is also found there. The Indians use it to rub their bodies, to give them a pleasant scent, and so refresh the skin when they are hot. The tree bears no fruit.

There are two sorts of aloes-wood[4] in the Indies; one the Indians call *Calamba,* the other *Garoa.* They use these woods to rub their bodies, and for perfumes.

[1] *Viverra Indica.*

[2] A kind of incense derived from the resin of *Styrax benzoin.* The name is a corruption of the Ar. *lubān-jāwi*, Java frankincense. Another common form was *benjamin.* (Yule, *Gloss.*)

[3] White sandal is the fragrant wood of the *Santalum album*, L. The old English name was *Sanders wood.* It is doubtful whether the red sandal of the middle ages was a variety of the *Santalum,* or was another species, the *Pterocarpus santalina,* a South Indian tree of inodorous wood, to which the term "red sandal" has also been applied. The latter wood was used largely for its colouring properties. (Yule, *Gloss.*)

[4] The eagle wood of commerce. Calamba or Calambak is given by Crawfurd as Javanese, but probably belongs to the language of Champa (or S. Cochin-China), from the kingdom *Champa,* whence the wood was obtained. This is the finest kind. The name *garoa* seems to come through the Malay *gahru,* from the Sansk. *aguru.* The Malayālam form is aγil, whence the Portuguese *aguila*, which led to *aquila,* and finally to the French *bois d'aigle*, and the Eng. eagle-wood. The best incense is obtained from the wood of the *Aloexylon agallochum* in a diseased condition. (Yule, *Gloss.*, under names "Aloes", "Champa", "Calambac", and "Eagle-wood".)

CHAPTER VII.

Of Tamarinds, Cassia, and Mirabolans.

There are tamarinds[1] everywhere in India in great quantity; the trees are very high, like pear-trees, and higher, with a fruit resembling a peascod, which the Indians use for verjuice to put in soup; the wood they burn. It is also highly laxative.

The cassia-tree[2] resembles the pear-tree, but with a longer leaf; it bears a yellow, sweet-smelling flower. It blooms in the month of September, then it produces long cods of a green colour, which blacken as they ripen. The Indians make small account of it. It grows of itself without being sown or tended. When the cassia is ripe—that is, in the month of January—it falls; and at this season the people abstain from eating the flesh of animals such as cows and sheep, which then causes fluxes and dysenteries, by reason of the laxative powers of the cassia, which these beasts eat, finding it lying on the ground. The Dealcan country is full of it; I have seen it only round about Goa.

In the Indies are also found mirabolans,[3] which are like plum-trees; there are great numbers at Cochin and Calecut. The fruit also is like a plum; it is very delicate, and is made into conserves and comfits.

[1] *Tamarindus indica*, L. The word is the Ar. *tamar-u'l-Hind*, "date of India".

[2] *I.e.*, here *Cassia fistula*.

[3] A name applied to a number of nuts or kernels used from very early times for medicinal purposes. Mirabolans are now used chiefly for dyeing and tanning. As to the different products to which the name was applied, and the early authorities, see De Orta, *Coll*, f. 148; Yule, *Gloss.*; and *Linschoten*, ii, 123.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Arbre Triste, Ebony, Betel, and the Cotton-tree.

That tree called *Triste*,[1] which is produced in the East Indies, is so named because it blooms only by night. As the sun sets you see no flowers upon the tree, then, half-an-hour after the sun is below the horizon, the tree flowers all over; and when the sun rises, incontinently all the flowers fall off, nor does one abide. The tree is of the size of a pear-tree; the leaf resembles that of the laurel, save that it is somewhat slashed. The seeds are useful for soups, for they colour it like saffron; and the water distilled from the flowers is useful against the eye-disease.

The ebony-tree is of the size of the olive, having a leaf of the form of sage, and bearing a white flower like a rose. The wood is exceeding hard; it is found in great quantity at Mozambic,[2] and that is the best; also at the island of St. Helena, but there it is not so good, being full of knots.

Betel is a plant set at the foot of other trees, which it clasps like as does pepper or ivy: the leaf is about as big as that of the rib-wort (*plantain*), but harder and thicker, and full of little nerves or filaments. There is great store of it in the East Indies, and chiefly at the Maldive islands, for there they cultivate it with extreme care. The Indians make great use of it, everybody chewing this leaf almost perpetually: they mingle it with a little lime (in default of oyster or other sea shell), which they call *onny*,[3] and a fruit they call *arequa*,[4] in order to temper its bitterness. It is this which causes the

[1] See vol. i, p. 411.

[2] The Portuguese therefore called it *páo de Moçambique* (see above, p. 224).

[3] Maldive *uni*, Sin. *hunu*, the chunam of India.

[4] The seed of the *Areca catechu* palm.

red colour produced in the chewing. They say they use it for their health, and that they could not otherwise live,[1] for that this leaf is hot, and aids digestion; wherefore they chew it at all hours, having some of it in their mouths at all times, except when they sleep. Moreover, it is of good taste and pleasant odour, and perfumes the breath; in such wise, that a man would not kiss a woman unless her mouth savoured of betel, nor would a woman a man. In truth, its odour is pleasant and agreeable; and, furthermore, it provokes and incites the passions of love.[2] And though it is thus hot, nevertheless it is refreshing to the mouth, quenches the thirst, and saves them from continually drinking, whereto the great heat would otherwise compel them. Having sucked the juice, they spit out the remnant. I made use of it while I was among them, and found it salutary. It dries the brain and the evil humours of the body. Also it preserves the teeth so well, that I never knew one that used it who had toothache, or had lost a single tooth; it makes the teeth as red as coral, indeed, but that they deem a beauty.[3] They think so much of it, that were one to enter a house without being offered some betel, he would take it for an affront and a disgrace; and so, when friends meet by the way, out of politeness and in token of good will, they offer one another betel. In a word, at all feasts, banquets, and rejoicings, it is the first and chiefest item of all good cheer, as good wine is with us.

[1] Probably the Maldivians' own words, just as the Sinhalese would say, *bulat nokaevot inda bae*, "one couldn't live without chewing betel". Linschoten says that the Portuguese ladies expressed themselves to the like effect (ii, 64).

[2] So *De Orta*, f. 37*d*.

[3] Mr. Bell informs me that the Sinhalese have a proverb, *Gilimalet aeti data suddó*, "even in Gilimale (a village famed for its betel) there are people with white teeth", as we speak of every flock having its black sheep.

The plant which bears the cotton is of the height of rose-trees here. The leaf is like that of the maple, the flowers like rose-buds. Within the flower, as it fades, expands a pod, which throws out the cotton, and amid this is the seed, which the people sow as we do in nurseries, thus getting a continual supply of cotton, wherewith they make their cloth, having no other material, neither flax nor hemp, as we have here. And of these cotton cloths they make no account except of the very finest. There is also another kind of cotton[1] that comes from a tree larger than the preceding, like an ash; this tree produces certain pods full of cotton, which, by reason of its short staple, is good for nothing but to make pillows for their beds.

CHAPTER IX.

Of Bananas, or Indian Figs and Pine Apples.

The banana is a tree nine to ten feet high, very common in India, and wondrous tender, like a cabbage-stalk, and yet as big as a man's thigh. It is all covered with several sheathings one over the other, like our leeks; when these are removed the heart remains, of the thickness of the arm, which is used for making soup; the leaves are of an ell and a half in length and half an ell in width. The Gentile Indians use these leaves in place of table-cloths and plates in taking their meals, and the same leaves never serve twice. The fruit is very delicate and precious; little children are fed upon it as pap. Each tree produces but once, and is then cut down; but soon it casts forth new shoots, each of which produces the same fruit once a year. The tree exists in great quantity. The fruit grows in a bunch containing

[1] The silk cotton-tree (*Bombax Malabaricum*), Hind. *semal.*

as many as 200 or 300; each is as thick as the arm, and a foot long, and very good and well-flavoured to eat; it is to be got at all seasons; at first it is green, afterwards it becomes yellow, and then is ripe. The Maldivians have large orchards full of it.

Pine-apples[1] grow upon a very low plant which never exceeds three or four feet in height. Beneath it is like a bush; the leaves are narrow, long, and pointed, and spread out all round. The fruit resembles an artichoke, or rather a pine-cone, save that it is somewhat bigger. When the fruit is ripe it is yellow; the inside is very tender and very good to eat. Atop of the fruit is a bunch of leaves, which if planted produces new fruit, and this may be left fifteen days out of the earth, without decaying, by reason of its great power of keeping moist. If, after cutting the fruit, you leave the knife without wiping it, it will become all rusty in a single night, so biting and penetrating is the juice. Some Indians betimes make of it a kind of wine like our cider, but better, being stronger and more exhilarating.

[1] He does not seem to be aware that the pine-apple was a recent importation into India from America. The name *Ananas*, by which the Portuguese introduced it (probably, as Col. Yule says, from the Brazilian *nana*), has been naturalised in all the Indian dialects, as well as in all European languages, except English, although Thomson did his best :—

> "Witness, thou best Anana, thou the pride
> Of vegetable life, beyond whate'er
> The poets imaged in the golden age." (*Summer.*)

CHAPTER X.

Of Darions, Ramboutans, Jacks, and Mangos.

The Darion-tree[1] nearly resembles a pear-tree in size; the fruit is as big as a melon. The Indians esteem this fruit to be one of the best and daintiest in the Indies. To those who are unaccustomed to it, it is disagreeable, having a stink like that of our onions, but the taste is far more excellent.

Ramboutans[2] are fruits with a thorny husk like the chestnut. Their colour is red, the inside of the size of a walnut, furnished with a kernel like an almond and of similar taste; over this is a flesh or pulp of a very agreeable taste, which melts in the mouth. This fruit is greatly esteemed in the Indies.

The Jaques[3] is a tree of the height of a chestnut, which produces a fruit as big as a pumpkin. It is attached all round the trunk of the tree, not at the end of the branches, as all other fruits are; at a distance one might say they were big pumpkins fastened to the tree. The outside is like a pine-cone of a yellow colour. When ripe it is very sweet to the taste, yet over-laxative. Within and about the fruit, in place of a nut or pip, you find a number of chestnuts as good and tasty as those of France; and these, contrary to the nature of the fruit, are of a binding quality. So that

[1] The Durian is a native of the Malay peninsula and islands. The lovers of this extraordinary fruit are generally at a loss to describe its virtues to those who have not tasted it: it is a combination of all the most excellent flavours in the world. Its enemies have less difficulty in expressing their opinions: it is like rotten onions, rotten eggs, carrion, etc.

[2] *Nephelium longana*, the Malay *rambūtan*. It is commonest in the Malay countries, but grows well in Ceylon.

[3] Full notes on the jack (Port. *jaca*, from the Malayālan *chakka*) will be found in Yule's *Glossary*.

after having eaten some of the fruit, in order to avoid evil effects, one has but to eat a raw and uncooked kernel.

Mangos grow in trees which are of the height of walnuts in these parts, albeit the leaves are smaller and narrower. The fruit is of the shape of plums, as big as the fist. Within is a stone which is not by any means easily separated from the fruit; when ripe the latter is yellow. There are vast quantities of this fruit in the Indies, not however at the Maldives.[1] While they are still green the natives salt them as we do olives, and thus are they kept the year round. For this fruit, like the jaques, ramboutans, darions, and pine-apples, has its certain season, and does not bear all the year round, like the banana and countless others.

CHAPTER XI.

Of numerous Trees and Plants that grow at the Maldives.

The Maldives are very fertile in all manner of fruits, and beside those already described, which grow there, are many others, whereof I should wish to mention some, as well because they are altogether alien to the species here, as that I have myself made use of them and observed them more narrowly at the Maldives than elsewhere. I would not say that some of them may not grow elsewhere in India, nor that I may not have seen them there.

In the first place, I did much marvel to observe the very remarkable nature of a kind of root, peculiar to the Maldives, which they use much with their food, and dress very cunningly. It grows as big as a man's thigh. It is sown and cultivated; and what is astonishing is, that they cut the root alone into a number of exceeding small pieces

[1] Mr. Bell says this is not quite accurate; though scarce, the mango is not unknown at the Maldives.

and plant these, insomuch that it grows not from seed but from a morsel of the root—a strange fact, and contrary to the nature of other plants.[1]

There are many sorts of trees, some bearing fruits, others only flowers. Among those bearing fruits are cocos, bananas, pomegranates, limes, and orange. Of trees less known that bear fruit, here are some observed by me. There are, for example, *moranque gasts*,[2] as they are called in their language; it is a very great tree, with extensive branches and leaves quite round and small; the fruit is of the form of long bean-pods. The leaves and fruit serve to season their broth, and they are tasty enough.

The tree called *congnare*[3] is another, with widely extended branches. Its leaves are round, with little spikes; the fruit is like small plums, and very delicious eating. It is much esteemed at the Maldives, and even at Goa. This tree bears fruit at all times, and, just as with oranges, you see it in flower as well as with fruit, some just set, some half ripe, and others ripe, all at the same time.

The *papos*[4] is of middling height, with leaves like the fig; its fruit grows like the cocos, not attached to the branches

[1] The reference is to the Maldive *hitala* (Sin. *hiritala*), the yam (*Dioscorea oppositifolia*). Ibn Batuta refers to its great value as a diet of the islands (see below, App. A). The flour made from this yam is referred to above (vol. i, p. 111) as *itelpoul* (= hitala-fu). Pyrard's astonishment at the method of growing the yam seems to show that he had never seen the potato, though it had been introduced into France some years before he left.

[2] M. *moraga-gas* (the muraga-tree); Sin. *mora* (the *Asclepias acida*).

[3] M. *kunnáru*, the Sinhalese *masan* (*Zizyphus jujuba*).

[4] The papaya or papaw (*Carica Papaya*, L.). This nasty, insipid fruit, which in taste bears no comparison with the melon, is a native of America. The name is said by Oviedo to be Cuban; it travelled to most countries of the East Indies with the fruit, but at the Maldives, as Mr. Bell informs me, its name is *falo*. Linschoten (ii, 35) says that "this fruit at the first for the strangeness thereof was much esteemed, but now they account not of it".

like other trees, but proceeding from the summit of the trunk at the spring of the branches. The fruit is very like the fig, only much bigger, of the size of a melon, which it resembles inside, having divisions marked on the rind, the seeds in the same place, and a very similar taste. When green, they use it in their broth as they use the pumpkin. The Portuguese grow some of it, and esteem it to be very delicious.

There is another tree of a strange nature, called *Ambou*[1]: it resembles a medlar. The fruit is like a white plum, and passing sweet and well-flavoured; it has a stone like a big nut or filbert, which is good to the taste, but, if you eat ever so little of it, disorders the senses, and if you were to take much of it, would cause a strange sickness, leading to death. This I can well understand, for I happened, out of necessity, at the beginning of my residence at the Maldives, to taste it, and had my senses disordered thereby for the space of twenty-four hours.

There is a tree called *Ahegasis*,[2] producing a fruit which is left to the birds; the roots, however, the people use for dyeing a beautiful carnation colour; and to get the roots they cut not down the tree, but only the roots on one side, and afterwards on the other, the tree being none the worse.

The *Macarequeau*[3] is another fine tree, being both lofty and wide-spreading: it is also of great service. Its roots are above ground, long, thick, and of a polished surface; the roots are run into the ground only by their tips, so that the tree seems supported on piles and arcades, and you can see daylight through them. When they want some wood of very fine grain they cut some of these roots, leaving the tree supported

[1] Apparently a misprint for *jambou*, the jamboo or rose-apple (*Eugenia jambos*, L.); M. *jabu*. Mr. Bell considers that the author refers to a small species known at the Maldives as *jaburol*.

[2] M. *ahi-gas*; Sin. *aha-gaha* (*Morinda citrofolia*).

[3] M. *mā-karhi-keyo*, the Pandanus.

on four only; this does the tree no harm, for it incontinently puts forth others. The flower is a foot long, big, white, and bent back, and casts an excellent odour. The fruit is as large as a pumpkin, and quite round; the rind is somewhat hard, and divided into partitions which reach the heart, in the manner of a pine-cone; but the difference is that these portions are of fruit, and very excellent. It is of a deep carnation colour; the bulk of the fruit is not eaten, but it is full of kernels, which are passing sweet and much better than those (of our pines) here. The leaves are an ell and a half in length, and a span broad. They divide them into two strips, and write upon them as upon parchment with ink. The timber is good for nothing, being too sappy, porous, and full of filaments.

At the Maldives there is great store of the tree which the Portuguese call the wild Indian fig[1]; it has a leaf like a walnut, and bears a small fruit which is used for nothing save that they burn it and produce a dark oil, which they use to blacken their ships in place of pitch and tallow. What is wonderful in the nature of this tree is that the branches, after they have spread aloft, cast forth little roots at their ends; these bend naturally and enter the ground, whence they produce other branches, and so on to infinity, in such wise that this tree would soon fill a whole country unless it were cut down. The timber is used only for firewood.

As for flowering trees, some are of great size, producing only flowers, which, however, are most sweet and odoriferous. Such is the *Innapa*,[2] the leaves of which the Maldivians bruise, and then rub upon their feet and hands to make them red, which

[1] M. *nika*; Sin. *nuga*, the banyan (*Ficus indica*). The Portuguese also called it *arvore de ráiz*, "the tree of roots". The poetical descriptions of the banyan tree by Milton and others are given by Col. Yule in his *Glossary*.

[2] M. *hiná* (*Lawsonia inermis*). The *innapa* of the text is *hiná-fai*, hiná leaf. The *innamaus*, below, is *hiná má* = hiná flower. It is the *henna* of writers on the East.

they esteem a great beauty. This colour does not yield to any washing, nor until the nails grow, or a fresh skin comes over the flesh, and then (that is, at the end of five or six months) they rub them again. The flower is called *Innamaus;* it is very small but of a strong smell. The same is true of the tree called *Onnimaus,*[1] which bears no other fruit than white flowers of a very sweet and agreeable smell. They last but four-and-twenty hours upon the tree and then fall; but the tree produces them unceasingly all the year round. There is another tree of a very singular nature; it is called *Iroudemaus,*[2] which in their language means "sun-flower"; it comes out and appears only at the rising of the sun in the morning, and at sunset it falls, which is contrary to the nature of the "arbre triste". This flower is the most excellent of all, and has the best smell, and is ordinarily served to the kings and queens. There are endless other sorts of flowers that bloom at all seasons of the year, and of so excellent odour and perfume that the best of ours, or of our neighbouring countries, are not to be compared with them; the reason is that they are nigher to that which gives flowers their chiefest lustre; and this is more the case at the Maldives than elsewhere. The country folk there are exceedingly fond of flowers, binding them in their hair, and every day covering their beds and garments with them; they are also wonderfully cunning in the making of pretty bouquets, chaplets, wreaths, and garlands.

[1] M. *Uni-má*, the flower of the *uni* tree. This tree is identified by Mr. W. Ferguson as the *Guettarda speciosa*, the St. Thomé flower tree.

[2] M. *irude-má;* not, however, the Sin. *suriya kántá*, nor the "four o'clock flower" (*Mirabilis jalappa*), but one of the jasmines, probably either *Jasminum grandiflorum*, or *Jasminum pubescens*.

CHAPTER XII.

A most particular description of the admirable tree that bears the Indian nut, called Cocos, and alone produces all commodities and things necessary for the life of man.

In all the Indies there is no tree which serves so many purposes of the nourishment and convenience of man as the tree which produces the cocos or Indian nut.

The Portuguese call this tree *Palmeiro*,[1] and the fruit *Cocos*.[2] The Maldivians call it *Roul*,[3] and the fruit *Caré*.[4] The Malabars call it *Tengua*,[5] and the Guzerats *Narquilly*.[6] It grows only in countries that are within the two Tropics, because it requires nothing but a warm and humid soil; and yet it is not found throughout the whole Torrid Zone, but only in certain places, where it is a marvel to see it growing all naturally and without cultivation[7]; and one of its chief

[1] More correctly *palmeira*.

[2] The origin of the word *coco* is involved in some obscurity. Col. Yule gives three choices,—(i) the Sp. and Port. *coco*, a mask or bogey: "e nós os Portuguezes, por ter aquelles tres buracos. lhe pozemos o nome de *coco*: porque parece rosto de bugio ou d'outro animal", says Garcia de Orta (f. 66*b*): "and we Portuguese, because of those three eyelets, give it the name of *coco*, as resembling the face of a monkey or other animal": this is the accepted Sp. and Port. derivation. (ii) the old Sp. *coca*, a shell = Lat. *concha* and Fr. *coque*: this is Col. Yule's own suggestion, and, except as to gender, seems probable enough; (iii) the ancient Egyptian *kuku*, found by Goodwin as applied in particular to the fruit; this word seems to appear again in the κύκας of Theophrastus, applied to a palm of Ethiopia.

[3] M. *rw'*, Sin. *ruk* or *ruka*, "tree"; the ordinary M. word for tree is *gas* (Sin. *gaha*), but the coconut is *ḳarhi-rw'*, "the nut-tree".

[4] M. *kárhi*, cf. Greek κάρυον, "nut"; Cosmas describes coconuts as κάρυα Ἰνδικά.

[5] Tam. *tengku* or *tengka-maram* (*maram* = tree).

[6] Sansk. *narikela*; whence Pers. *nargīl*.

[7] This may be so as regards the Maldives, but in Ceylon the coconut tree is rarely seen far from human habitations:—"The natives have a

places is the Maldives, where it is more abundant than in all the rest of the world together. Such, indeed, is its increase there that the natives have to cut it down to make room for their houses and buildings. Usually, they do not allow these trees to stand too close to their houses, both because the trees are frequently blown down by the wind, thereby ruining the houses and killing the occupants, and because great quantities of nuts are falling every day owing to the rats,[1] and they often cause the death of men by reason both of the height of the tree and the weight of the fruit. I have seen a green fruit to weigh full six pounds. The rats attack them only when green, both because when dry they are too hard to gnaw, and because the chief desire of these creatures is to drink the water. They are clever enough to make a hole on the upper side, so that the water shall not escape, and they make it of their own size, so that they can enter in to eat and drink. When the fruit is thus empty within, it rots and falls in such wise that in the uninhabited islands the ground is all covered with them; for in inhabited places the people diligently collect them, when dry, for firewood, which purpose they serve better than any other wood. The people are much troubled by the destruction and ravages of these rats, and even more so by those of the bats whereof I

superstition that the coconut will not grow out of the sound of the human voice, and will die if the village where it had previously thriven becomes deserted; the solution of the mystery being in all probability the superior care and manuring which it receives in such localities" (Tennent, *Ceylon*, i, 119). The fact is, as De Candolle shows, that the coconut palm is not indigenous to India and Ceylon; it was not known to the writers of the *Mahavanso*. In connection with this it may be noted that, thanks to this wonderful tree, the seaboard of Ceylon now supports a teeming population, whereas in the days of the *Mahavanso* the mass of the population was centred in the interior, where rice was the staple.

[1] The rats are a terrible plague at the Maldives and Laccadives. At the latter the islanders have instituted periodical rat-hunts (Allan Hume, *Stray Feathers*, vol. iv).

have spoken, which are so big, and a great annoyance both in regard to this tree and to wine-jars, and other vessels used for catching and drawing the wine. These creatures will break and crack the vessels in their desire to drink the wine, most frequently spilling it entirely. The people are also much molested in all the islands by ants, which make their tunnels beneath these trees, traversing all the roots, and displenishing them of earth so much as to cause them to fall.

This tree is loftier not only than any tree of these parts, but even than any of the Indian trees, being about twenty fathoms high.[1] It is quite straight, without any branches up to the summit; it is not of proportionate thickness, but very smooth, thicker towards the roots, and diminishing up to the top. I have never seen one quite straight, nor any but was without branches up to the top. It has but little root, and so has no strong foothold, and a high wind is sure to blow some down; and, as I said, these sometimes fall upon the houses, in whose ruins the people within are overwhelmed, the houses being low and little able to resist so great a weight. The bark is light in colour, and the trunk very pithy, and full of filament. The timber is used for building houses, yet but half the tree can be used for the purpose, that is, the lower or thick half, for the rest is only pith, and too tender. Of the lower part of the tree where it is thickest a length of about three feet is cut, and then hollowed out to make buckets for keeping honey, water, and other commodities. The best of the timber is used for making ships, which are altogether composed of it; no other is used, nor is a particle of iron employed.

The branches are all aloft, in a bunch at the top of the tree. They are exceeding long, flat, and straight. The leaves grow equally on both sides, and close together, with

[1] The question as to the greatest height attained by the coconut palm has recently been raised in the *Ceylon Observer;* the loftiest tree measured was found to be 117 feet.

only the interval of an inch between. They are half a fathom or more in length, finishing in a point, two inches broad on each side; for they are folded in two at the middle, where there is a stalk of wood, very slender, but very strong, giving support to the leaf. They are of a white colour when the leaf first opens, afterwards they become green, and latterly, when dry, brown. The fruit never grows upon the branches, but only on the trunk of the tree at the spring of the branches. There it grows, and waxes in clusters, each cluster hanging from the tree by a stalk as thick as the arm, of a due length, and very strong. By this stalk hang the nuts or cocos, usually to the number of fifty or sixty, more or less; and what is more wonderful than all, the tree produces a cluster of cocos every month, in such wise that sometimes it is charged with ten or twelve clusters of nuts, some ripe, others half ripe, and others just beginning to set, all in the order of their growth; and they become perfectly ripe in six months. Thus it has ripe fruit all the year round, and is always in season.[1]

This tree requires low, humid, and watery ground, and marshy or sandy places; wherefore it grows well at the Maldives, the ground being low, and water being found at three or four feet deep, so that these trees are always kept fresh and nourished. On the other hand, on the mainland it is some trouble to get them reared, and it is necessary to use water-channels, or to irrigate them by the hand-labour of slaves night and morning. For planting, the fruit must be taken when naturally ripe upon the tree, nor too much so, for if too ripe and dry, the water inside will have dried up; and it is

[1] "The produce of the tree in full health and properly tended is much dependent on soil and climate. The average may be put down at 120 nuts in the twelve months, while in a low and sandy soil it will amount to 200, and when planted in gravel and laterite foundations not 60; the most productive months are from January to June, that is for ripe nuts, the heat bringing them quickly to maturity" (*All About the Coconut Palm*, Colombo, 1885, p. 27).

the water alone which germinates, and not the kernel. The whole fruit must be laid in humid soil, with its shell and husk, and it suffices to cover it with earth. Without the husk the tree cannot possibly grow, because otherwise the earth would rot the shell ere the germ and root were nourished, and the plant had sprung above the ground. It bears fruit at six or seven years. They that would gather this fruit can, by rapping the fingers or other thing against the husk, judge in what condition it is, whether hard or soft, ripe or unripe. When it is becoming ripe the water joggles and stirs within, but when not ripe, or only beginning to ripen, the water gives no sound; and in measure as it becomes over-ripe, the water dries up until it is exhausted; the kernel then becomes hard and dry, and when pressed, no longer yields milk, but only oil, and separates from the shell. In place of being white within it then becomes of a leaden hue, while the outer surface turns brown like the shell.

The trees growing near the close of the royal palace and other houses at the Maldives are ascended only by night: it is forbidden to do so by day, for the climbers would overlook the close, which hath not walls of the height of these trees. Indeed, the gatherers of this fruit, who are called *Ravery*,[1] dare not climb them by day at any place where they could overlook the close of the humblest dwelling, ere they have first given a loud shout three times, standing at the foot of the tree. This is done for the sake of the women who bathe and wash themselves, all naked, in their ponds and in the closes of their houses. This rule is observed very strictly amongst them, and it is forbidden to the *ravery* to climb the tree until the women have done their bathing and have withdrawn.

Marvellous indeed are the commodities drawn from this tree, of which there is no morsel or particle but serves some use. The branches are split in two and are made into laths

[1] M. *rá-veri*, "toddy-men".

for roofing the houses, and into close and well-fitted palisades, wherewith houses and gardens are enclosed. They are put to a thousand other uses which it were tedious to explain. With the leaves the houses are thatched; they are used for lining and closing up all fences and houses, being very neatly sewn together and plaited over, with several rows of cord run along the whole length to keep them firm.[1] No other material is used for their houses, fences, and screens; and it resists water so well that not a drop passes through: it must, however, be renewed at the end of three years. While the leaf is still green it is used like paper for writing letters, missives, verses, and ballads, and then is neatly folded up; this is done with knives and iron styles. Again, the leaves when dry are split into strips or tags, which are woven and interlaced in the fashion of a mat, exceeding well executed; these mats, sewn one to another, are made into sails for ships of any size required, and throughout all the Maldives no other sails are used. The same mats serve as ordinary carpets for sitting upon the ground in the country manner, and throughout all the coast of Malabar the people use no other, because there they have not the proper reed, as at Caël and the Maldives, of which other mats, much handsomer and prettier, are made. Also with these leaves, used whole, the people fashion, in very cunning plaited work, all manner of baskets and scuttles, and a thousand other such manufactures, such as we here fashion of osiers or willow; of the same they make sunshades or sombreros, and very pretty hats for use against the rain. I myself always wore the like.

In short, these leaves, when young and white, are worked into a thousand things: being fashioned in birds, fish, and all other animals, such as we here frame by the artful fold-

[1] These are the well-known *cadjans*, or plaited coconut leaves, which serve for walls, screens, cart shades, etc., in South India and Ceylon. At the Maldives, where they are called *fan*, they are still used for the sails of sea-going boats, as described by the author.

ing of linen. When they would make a present of flowers, betel, or the like, they put this in a kind of basket made of these leaves very neatly. When it is required to take out the contents, they cut an opening with a knife and cast away the basket. The slender stick in the middle of the dry leaf becomes very hard, insomuch that of it they make besoms[1] to sweep withal, and use none other. These slight stalks also serve to make boxes and cases; they are plaited together, and are quite strong, and such boxes are fastened with lock and key.

Of these stalks are also made the shafts of weapons, such as small spears, javelins, etc.; they bind together the little stems, which are no thicker than an iron spike, and about a half fathom in length, packing them together to the required thickness, and placing them end to end to the required length.[2] These sticks diminish in size from their thicker end, which is the lower end of the leaf, up to the point, which is no bigger than a little needle. They dispose these little sticks with such art, that the shaft constructed of them is no longer weak, nor stouter in one place than another. Next, when well polished, they cover these shafts with a varnish called by them *Las*,[3] which they possess in all colours, adorning them with numberless figures and patterns at their pleasure; these shafts are called *Ziconti*.[4] They are of the thickness of a good-sized thumb, and are staunch and strong, yet will bend sooner than break. They are made as thick and long as required, and are also used for making bows. When these people want needles they use none other than

[1] These brooms are called in M. *ilorhi-fati*, and in Sin. *ila pata*.

[2] Mr. Bell writes :—"I wondered much at the pliancy of their longer javelins; those used in the sports quivering strangely in the hand when ready for use."

[3] M. *lá*, Hind. *lákh*, Sansk. *lákshá*, "lac", the resinous incrustation produced on certain trees by the puncture of the Lac insect, *Coccus lacca* (Yule, *Gloss.*).

[4] Cf. Hind. *senti*, "javelin'.

these little stems, fashioning and pointing them with their knives.

The nut is covered with a husk or shell; some are of the size of a man's head, and some less. The husk has a yellowish hue over the green when it is ripe, and is three or four inches thick. This husk is composed of fibre, whereof they make their rope. They remove the husk when green, as we should that of a nut, and lay it to steep in the sea, covering it with sand. After it has been there for the space of three weeks they take it out and beat it with wooden mallets, such as we here use for flax or hemp. Thus, having separated the fibres, they expose it to the sun. Next, the women twist and spin it into rope with the hand on the naked thigh, for the men take no part in the labour of rope-making. The rope[1] thus made serves for all uses, and none other is employed throughout all the Indies. The same husk, when dry, serves to caulk the ships withal.

Of the same substance, too, are made matches for arquebuses; it keeps alight well and makes good charcoal, better indeed than ours; but in making matches it is prepared differently from the rope: for the husk or shell must be dried with the fruit, and not plucked green, nor steeped, nor beaten, and the fibre is spun and twisted with the whole of the rind, and very finely twined. It is of the colour of tan, wherewith leather is tanned; and all about this fibre is a substance like sawdust. Moreover, in dwellings, at guard-houses, and elsewhere, they employ this dry husk for preserving fire, as it keeps alight for a long while, and a small spark applied to it will convey the fire, which will not go out so long as there is the least substance left. When they have made their match, they boil it with ashes, as we use here; then they fold it together into thick hanks, like rings, of the thickness of an arm; through these they thrust their arm when they are carrying their arquebuses. They never

[1] Coir-rope.

cut it, but merely snuff it as it burns away, as we do candles. They use no other manner of match, either in these islands or elsewhere in India; in some places, however, where cotton is common and cocos scarce, they make their matches of cotton.

The nut, when separated from the husk, or, as we call it, "shelled", is still so big that, empty and cleaned out, it will hold two or three pints of water or other liquid; for some of them are of divers smaller sizes, and the least are of the size of a lemon.

The shell is exceeding hard, and as thick as two testoons, or a whit more. The Indians use it to make their porringers, pots, pints, and other measures, and also utensils such as spoons and the like. Moreover, of this shell they make charcoal for their forges, and use none other.

All around the inside of this shell comes a thick and firm white substance, which is tasty like an almond, and very good; they use it in divers ways. First, the Indians eat it as we eat bread along with other viands, whether flesh or fish. Next, from this same white stuff they extract a milk which is as sweet as our milk sugared, or rather as our milk of almonds. To obtain this milk they pound the kernel into meal, then strain and squeeze it; the milk thus caused to flow is passed through a sieve. This milk is very laxative; it is served with honey or sugar, and drunk fasting; no other purgative is used.

From this same milk oil is obtained, for when boiled it changes and thickens into oil; it is very good for frying, and no other is used by the people, whether for seasoning their meats or mixing with their sauces. The same is used for lamps, and not only at the Maldives, but throughout all the East Indies; even the Portuguese use none other. It is also very good for wounds and ulcers, and is the principal recipe at the Maldives. I myself was cured by it. It is a sovereign remedy against the

itch, which it consumes and causes to fall off a few days after it is rubbed on. The physicians and surgeons that are among the Portuguese use it with their medicines and unguents, though they might use that of Spain, holding this to be more medicinal and the best in certain ailments. This oil, when kept for about three months, thickens and congeals into a very white butter, though the oil was yellowish; this butter is not, however, delicate or fit to be eaten with bread as ours is. They use it in the same manner as the oil, that is, melted, and thereby it loses not its savour. Moreover, with this squeezed kernel, or compressed white, after the extraction of the milk, are made excellent comfits and conserves, prepared with the sugar that is produced from the same tree.

Inside the nut, and within this kernel or white, and at the very centre, is found a quantity of water, according to the size of the cocos: the largest have a good pint of very beautiful water, clear as that from the rock, and as good and of the same taste as sugared water, and the fresher the better. It is a very refreshing drink, principally when the fruit is half ripe; but the wine made of it is very fiery. Finally, the entire cocos, comprised within the husk and shell, can be eaten as we should eat a sweet apple.

When the tree begins to blossom and to put forth the bunch or cluster, a pod is produced, long and pointed, in the form of a gherkin, which, when fully extended, opens and expands into a yellow flower, and thence proceeds the fruit.

This pod when dry falls to the ground, or is cut off, and made into charcoal for drawing, and also into boxes or pails, also into bushel measures; so indeed that there is no part of this tree but is put to some use; even the flowers are made into most excellent conserves and comfits.

This cocos yields another commodity, viz., a certain tissue[1]

[1] Sin. *matulla*, a remarkable substance resembling coarse cloth or gauze, which arises at the base and outside of the fronds, especially in

found at the base of the branches between the trunk of the tree and the fruit cluster. This tissue the Indians employ to make their sacks. Also, being of fine mesh, it is very proper for strainers to pass any liquids through.

This tree also yields a liquor which serves in place of wine.[1] For when you cut the thick spathe of the cluster, leaving it only of a foot's length, there drops therefrom a liquor passing sweet and luscious, just like hypocras, saving that it is quite fresh. At the Maldives this liquor that flows from these cut branches is drunk instead of wine—for they dare not drink the other sort; but it will not keep sweet without turning sour for more than four-and-twenty hours. Each branch usually yields about a quart a day, though some will yield two or three or more, and this branch, dropping continually, lasts for the space of six months. To receive this liquor they attach a pot, also of cocos, to the branch or spathe, in such wise that the wind cannot carry the droppings away.

With this liquor they make honey and sugar. They collect it in a pan and boil it with certain white porous pebbles that are found in the sea. When boiled for some time it becomes converted into honey, as excellent as ordinary honey, or, rather, as the finest syrup imaginable; it is yellow like wax, but they make it clear or thick as they please.[2]

From this honey also is manufactured sugar, by boiling with other pebbles and then drying it: thus is produced a fine sugar, either white or candy, wherein is much traffic

young trees. "The length and evenness of the threads or fibres, the regular manner in which they cross each other at oblique angles, the extent of surface, and the thickness of the piece, corresponding with that of coarse cotton cloth, the singular manner in which the fibres are attached to each other, cause this curious substance, wove in the loom of nature, to represent to the eye a remarkable resemblance to cloth spun and woven by human ingenuity" (Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*). It is much used for sieves, and also in the South Sea for making cloths.

[1] *Sura*, *tārī*, or "toddy".

[2] The Maldivians make their jaggery in this manner still.

done, both at the Maldives and also at Cael and Ceylon. But this sugar is not by any means so white as cane sugar, though in some places it is whiter than at others.

Also if of this liquor they desire not to make honey or sugar, they put it on the fire and make an excellent brandy, called by them *Arac*,[1] which is quite as strong as ours here.

This brandy, or arac, the Portuguese use for a beverage, but they add thereto raisins from Persia, putting about 30 or 35 pounds of them in a cask, and mixing the whole together to redden and sweeten it. The Portuguese drink no other wine, and call this *vin de passe*[2]; it is very good and cheap. Great lords sometimes drink Spanish wine, which is very dear out there. If vinegar be wanted, this liquor is left for ten or twelve days to turn sour, and the vinegar so made is as strong as the best we have here.

Thus from the same tree can be obtained fruit and wine; but, to say truth, the fruit is in that case neither so good nor so plentiful. Wherefore at the Maldives, where these trees are so numerous, they set apart certain of them solely for the production of wine; and then, a single tree cannot have more than two or three of these distilling taps going at once. Nevertheless, some wine can be drawn from a tree which is left to bear fruit, but a small quantity only.

The tree has yet another commodity, viz., that at the top it throws out a tender shoot[3] about two or three feet long, which is very good eating, and as sweet as an almond. I have eaten it many a time. When the trees are felled for the purpose of building, this tendril is promptly cut, but never except then.

Another extraordinary thing is, that when the cocos is ripe

[1] From Ar. *'arak*, "perspiration". The toddy is twice distilled, giving one-eighth of its quantity in arrack.

[2] See above, p. 73, *note*.

[3] The so-called "coconut cabbage", M. *ruk-kuri*, Sin. *pol-bada*. When boiled it is very delicate, with a nutty flavour. The natives preserve it in vinegar and use it as a pickle.

and dry, if you put it in some damp place, or in the ground, for the space of three weeks or a month, the water within forms itself into a kind of apple, yellow on the surface and white beneath[1]; this is as tender and sweet as can be, and melts in the mouth. The dainty and curious among the inhabitants eat this often, esteeming it most delicate fare, and even give it to their little children. This apple is the germ of the cocos, which would shoot forthwith and engender a tree were it left a while longer, for the kernel that is all around the shell in manner described has naught to do with the germination of the cocos, but only the water within; this it is which furnishes the substance. The rest of the cocos rots, and is good for nothing more.

Further, the natives make a sort of merchandise out of the fruit of the cocos, which finds a market all over India, and fetches a high price too; they call it *suppara*.[2] They take the fruit, break it in two parts, and dry it in the sun, which causes it to shrink mightily; and it will thus keep as long as they wish. They pack it in sacks and send it to all parts. It is of good flavour, and serves for sauces and soups. It is carried in quantities to Arabia, and the oil extracted from it is much better and will keep longer than that drawn from quite fresh fruit.

Black dyes are obtained from the sawdust of cocos; it is steeped in the water and honey of this same tree, and left in the sun for some days; a very black and excellent dye is thus produced.[3]

Of the stalks of the fruit are made paint-brushes for

[1] M. *muḍi*, Sin. *paela madé*.

[2] Probably misprint for *kuppara*; M. *kufará*, Sin. *kopara*, Eng. *copra*. Ceylon exports annually about 60,000 cwts. of copra, and a small quantity is sometimes exported from the Maldives to Ceylon.

[3] Mr. Bell says they make two kinds—(*a*) *bobi-deli*, charcoal burnt from the soft shell, mixed with coconut oil, and used for painting boats, etc.; (*b*) *nárhi-deli*, charcoal from the hard shell, mixed with water, and used as ink.

painting their boats, galleys, temples, and houses, which are painted all over, but never (as I have said before) with the figures of men.

I have oftentimes seen at the Maldives an infinite number of ships of 100 or 120 tons, built entirely of this timber, without any iron or other wood or material except what this tree produces. The anchors even are made of it, and are very excellent and handy. They have a cross-piece of wood of the same tree, hollowed out and packed with flints and little stones, and then firmly closed. This is to render the anchor heavier, so that it shall catch and keep a better hold. The planks are fastened with pins, and lashed and seamed within with cordage made of the fruit. Moreover, these ships, entirely built, fitted, and equipped with the timber or fruit of this tree, are loaded with merchandise proceeding from the same tree, to wit, cordage, mats, sails of cocos, comfits, oil, wine, sugar, and other goods, all the produce of this tree. And this is true also of the provisions of the ship, whether of meat or drink; and whether the voyage be to Arabia, 800 or 900 leagues distance, or to the coast of Malabar, Cambaye, Sumatra, or elsewhere. These vessels last four or five years, and with repairs and proper treatment will make many long voyages.

To make their drums they hollow a trunk of this tree till it be quite thin; then, when they have caught some of the fish, called by us the ray, which they never eat, they skin it, and cover their drums with the hide, as I have already said.[1] These rays are the largest to be seen anywhere.

They use this wood also as being the best for polishing and furbishing articles of iron or copper, whether arms or household utensils. They also employ powdered porcelain mingled with oil to scrub, clean, and polish their arms and other utensils.

For the rest, I have yet to say that there are two sorts of

[1] See above, p. 351.

these cocos trees; the fruit of the one when young being sweet and tender as an apple, that of the other not so. The tender and sweet are very rare, and held in great esteem, but when they are ripe they are not so good as the others.

I have given an extensive description of this tree, as being one of the greatest marvels of the Indies; also because I sojourned five years at the Maldives, where it is the chief source of wealth, food, and all commodities, and where they are better experienced in drawing its produce and in applying it to the divers petty amenities of life than elsewhere in India. Nor have I only seen all this a few times. I have eaten this fruit and lived upon it regularly. I myself possessed a great number of trees, and those of the very best, and myself produced all these commodities which I have described. Wherefore, I have thought it not otherwise than proper that I should describe with all particularity that which I have learnt by an experience so long and so well approved.

Advice to those who would undertake the voyage to the East Indies. The order and police observed by the French in their navigation, the great faults and excesses committed by them, with examples thereof, and a word of caution against the like.

INASMUCH as it is expedient and necessary for those who would undertake the voyage to the East Indies to know the proper times and seasons for setting out, both on the outward and the homeward voyage, the things whereof they ought to make provision, and the manner of their governance, whereby to avoid the accidents which hourly befall, as indeed I have myself experienced many and many a time—on these matters I will give a short discourse which may serve for a conclusion to my voyage, and will treat in some measure of the excesses and lack of order attending our navigation, and the means of remedying the same. I begin by saying that voyagers must above all things take care to set out in season in order to successfully weather the Cape of Good Hope and the coast of Natal, where the winds and storms are both very frequent and very dangerous, and the more so when the passage of these regions is made out of season.

It behoves them also to be provided with good and experienced sea-pilots, who have made the voyage several times, and have a practical knowledge of it, for it is certain that if we had had a good pilot our voyage had come to happy issue. They must make choice of good ships that are inured to the sea, and have already made some voyages; because, if on a long voyage any accident befalls a new ship that has not been proved at sea, it cannot be repaired. Further, for a

complete voyage there must be a company of four or five ships at the least, one of these to carry victuals, ship's utensils, and other furniture and material for the repair of the other ships in case of need, and to make fitting distribution of her men and provisions as occasion may require: when she is thus emptied she may be abandoned. Also it is very desirable to have a small pinnace, which is of infinite service in approaching close to land and in reconnoitring.

I have not found it of use to sheath the ship with lead as ours was. For although this may be good against worms, preventing them from piercing the timbers, yet for all that it clogs the vessel overmuch. The Portuguese use it only at the seams and joinings of the timbers. For this purpose tin would seem to me the most suitable.[1]

Moreover, it is requisite to make good provision of fresh water rather than wine, seeing the heat is so vehement that the drinking of wine rather enhances than quenches the thirst; nevertheless, you must take some, and some brandy also, to drink when you approach the Cape of Good Hope, which is a cold neighbourhood, and also to keep for the return voyage when you begin to reach the altitude of Spain and

[1] The Portuguese had formerly used complete lead sheathing, but probably it had been given up for economical reasons. Sir R. Hawkins has some interesting remarks on this subject (*Hawkins' Voyages*, p. 203): "In Spaine and Portingall, some sheathe their shippes with lead; besides the cost and waight, although they use the thinnest sheet-lead that I have seene in any place, yet it is nothing durable, but subject to many casualties. Another manner is used with double plankes, as thicke without as within, after the manner of furring, which is little better than that with lead; for besides his waight, it dureth little, because the worme in small time passeth through the one and the other. A third manner of sheathing hath been used amongst some with fine canvas; which is of small continuance, and so not to be regarded. The fourth prevention, which now is most accompted of, is to burne the utter planke till it come to be every place like a cole, and after to pitch it; this is not bad." He then describes the Chinese method of varnishing, and lastly the English mode, viz., by thin sheathing boards over layers first of tar and then of hair. The most approved modern sheathing is copper over felt.

France. But it must be Spanish wine, for that of France will not keep under the Torrid Zone. We carried some that went bad before we reached the line. Then the candles to be carried must be of wax, for tallow melts, and olive oil must be carried for food, that being a most wholesome thing at sea, and at all times very useful for sauces and seasonings, while walnut oil should be carried for the lamps.

Above all, the provisions and refreshments must be carefully husbanded, for the reason that during this long and difficult voyage many accidents and diseases befall, and amongst others scurvy. In this matter not a few of our men had a sad experience, who, in the space of three or four months they were at sea, had without consideration eaten and wasted all their provisions. And then, when sundry ailments overtook them, they had nothing left for their sustenance, wherefore did many die that could not eat of the ships victuals, which consist of salt meat, biscuit, and salt fish.

Amongst other things it is necessary to be forewarned of the ailments which ordinarily occur on this voyage. The first is one very common under the Torrid Zone, and among the most cruel and painful, whether to witness or to endure. I speak with some knowledge, for I was twice attacked with it, the first time on the voyage out, when we reached the Island of St. Lawrence, and again at Goa, where it seized me when I was abed in the house of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. This malady is a grievous pain in the stomach, which comes on only at night, but in manner so strange that one can hardly breathe, and the sufferer tosses and strains by reason of the extremity of the pain. It is most prevalent near the line, where the heats are the greatest and most violent; and yet it proceeds from cold, because the excessive heat of the day attracts all the natural heat of the body and causes it to exhale; then as night falls it becomes so faint and feeble that without feeling the night chill coming on, one falls asleep at sunset, and then the ensuing cold is attracted to the

mouth of the stomach, which is thereby incontinently swollen with these throes. This illness sometimes lasts twenty-four hours; in my case the worst of the pain lasted only three or four hours. Yet does it make itself felt for three or four days thereafter, and the only remedy is heat, viz., by drinking good Spanish or Canary wine, or brandy, cinnamon water, or other ardent liquids.

For a protection against this disease one must be clad warmly, and well covered at nights, and above all care must be taken not to sleep in the dews of sundown and night. The head must be swathed, the legs well and warmly enclosed, and the stomach in like manner. For this purpose they wear broad bands sufficient to cover the stomach, quilted and stuffed with cotton,[1] and handsomely powdered with scents. It is indeed a strange thing that in the hottest places the body becomes quite cold and bereft of heat.

Now with regard to another malady, called *scurbut* by the Hollanders and the gum disease by the Portuguese;[2] we French call it "le mal de terre", I know not why, for it comes on at sea and is cured on land. It is a very common ailment in all parts of the voyage, and is contagious, even by approaching or breathing another's breath. It is ordinarily brought on by the great length of the voyage, and the long sojourning at sea, and also by the want of washing and cleanliness, and of changing linen and other clothes; by the sea air and water, by the corruption of the fresh water and the victuals, washing in sea water without washing afterwards in fresh; by cold, and sleeping in the night dews,—all these cause this disease. Those attacked become swollen as by dropsy, and the swelling is as hard as wood, chiefly on the thighs and legs, cheeks and throat, all the surface being suffused with dark blood, of a livid and leaden hue, as though it were all tumours and contusions, rendering the muscles and nerves

[1] A description of the "Cummerbund".

[2] Port. *Mal das gengivas.*

impotent and stiff. Besides this the gums are ulcerated and black, the flesh all swollen, the teeth displaced and loose, as though they had but a slight hold; indeed, most of them fall out. Add thereto a breath so fœtid and disgusting that one cannot approach; it can be smelt from one end of the vessel to the other. The appetite is not lost, but the distress of the teeth is such that one can only eat slops, wherewith the ship is but ill furnished; indeed, one becomes so famished and greedy that it would seem as if all the victuals in the world would not suffice to produce satiety. The discomfort is, in fact, greater than the pain, which is confined to the mouth and gums. So it is that full often a man dies at his talking, drinking, and eating, without knowledge of his approaching end. Then, too, this malady makes a man so opinionative and fractious that nothing pleases him. Some die in a few days, others endure a while longer ere they die. They become of a white or yellowish colour, and when first overtaken with the disease the thighs and legs are covered with little pustules and spots like flea-bites, which is the black blood issuing through the pores of the skin; the gums begin to rise, and to become cancerous. The patient is subject to syncope, fainting, convulsions, and nervous swoonings. While we were at the Island of St. Lawrence there died three or four of our men of this malady, and when their heads were opened all the brain was found to be black, tainted, and putrified. The lungs become dry and shrunk like parchment that is held near the fire. The liver and spleen wax immoderately large, and become black and covered with apostumes full of the most loathsome matter. During this sickness a sore never heals or closes up; on the contrary, it runs to gangrene and putrefaction. When a man is seized at sea, let him use what remedies he will, all are useless, and nothing avails but to get ashore wherever possible, and gain refreshment of sweet and fresh water and fruits, without which none can be cured, do what he will. It is a terrible thing to see the

big lumps of foul flesh that have to be cut from the gums.[1]

Such are the maladies to which men are most subject on this voyage, and whereof they must be well advised so as to guard against them, or cure them as best they can.

But it is especially necessary before setting out to make provision of orange and lemon juice in order to their protection against this scurvy, because there is nothing more sovereign to resist it than the refreshments of the land, the which consist of fresh water, oranges, and lemons; this I have observed and experienced many a time.

Moreover, it behoves men to be sober as well in drinking as in eating, and when they happen upon some islands where they can obtain fresh viands, it is not good to eat overmuch thereof, nor even of the fruits.

One must not sleep too much, for that is unwholesome, especially sleeping by day. Moreover, as I said before, there is a proper time and season for setting out, to wit, at the beginning of March, for if you do not get away then you will find calms at the equinoctial line, and currents at the coast of Guinea, which bring about the loss of the voyage, as indeed was our case, for we did not set out till the month of May, nay, till the 18th of that month, and so were delayed by contrary winds off Guinea for more than four months. Had we started sooner we had made the passage easily enough. The coast of Guinea is intemperate and unhealthy, and those that go to the Indies must take care not to get out of their course on the Guinea coast, for it is the most unhealthy place in the world, and very difficult to get out of by reason of the calms. Furthermore, as they near the Cape of Good Hope they will usually fall in with violent storms and contrary winds.

Likewise they must take warning not to touch land on this

[1] Compare Sir Richard Hawkins' account of scurvy and its prevention in the *Hawkins' Voyages*, pp. 138-42.

side the Cape of Good Hope; on the return voyage only it is customary to touch at the island of St. Helena.

Coming home on the return voyage from the Indies, they must set out at the end of December or beginning of January, so as to avoid the same perils, for it is most necessary to double the Cape of Good Hope at the beginning of May, or sooner if possible. We did not leave Goa till the end of January, and for this reason were nearly lost, being two months in sight of the Cape ere we could double it, and all the time buffeted by contrary winds.

It were well also to have priests for the exercise of our religion, to console the sick, and to administer to them the Sacraments of the Church.

I come now to the matter of our order and police in navigation, to the great faults committed, as the same were observed by me in my voyage, and the means of remedying them.

When we set out from France we were two ships, whereof one was the *Admiral*, the other the *Vice-Admiral*. The general of both was on board the *Admiral*, while his lieutenant-general commanded the other. The general had on board his own ship his own lieutenant, and the lieutenant-general had also his own lieutenant with him; so that each vessel had her own captain and lieutenant; add a pilot, a second pilot, a mate, a second mate, a merchant, a second merchant, a clerk, two surgeons, two pursers, two cooks appointed by the captain, and two chief stewards. There was also a master gunner, assisted by five or six gunners. Such are the persons in command and the officers of a French ship.

The captain hath absolute command in all things; and the chief merchant hath power over the merchandise and trading only; for the second is only for his assistance, and to take his place if peradventure he should die. For this cause there be always two for each office, this being wisely ordained as a provision for the supply of vacancies. Never-

theless, there is no increase of pay hereby, but of honour only: for in our ships pay is never increased or diminished, and if a man should die the first day after going on board his heirs would be paid for the whole voyage. In our voyage wages were paid monthly, three months being advanced to each man before we sailed. The pay amounted to half as much again as the English or Hollanders (who observe the same order in their ships as we) give to their seamen.

So then the captain has power over all, and the factor or chief merchant has control over the merchandise, having under him a clerk, who is appointed, according to maritime practice, by the lords or burgesses to whom the ship belongs, and so with the other officers. But this clerk hath not the same trust and power as on the Portuguese ships. He merely registers the merchandise laden upon and discharged from the ship in the way of traffic, and has no other office. As for the pilot, his office is only in what concerns the navigation, and he is not held in the same awe as are the Portuguese pilots. The mate has command over all the seamen, and the care of the ship, and all her utensils and victuals. This I have found a bad arrangement, inasmuch as he appoints pursers that are at his beck.

The mate and second mate take a hand at jobs just like the mariners. There are also two stewards, chosen by the captain and the mate from among the best and most capable of the mariners. They are appointed to have charge of the ropes, sails, tackle, and other ship's furniture, and 'tis they who cut and mend all these when necessary. They are chiefs over all the seamen next after the mate and second mate, and are very necessary. They have command over all the young mariners and ship's boys, to whom they alone can give the lash. As for the surgeons and apothecaries, they have to do only what appertains to their own calling, having no rank in the ship's company like the other officers. For it is not with us as

with the Portuguese, seeing that (with us) all the other men, whether gunners, pursers, cooks, coopers, carpenters, blacksmiths, sail-menders, and others are rated as mariners, and do all the like work. For, saving the captain and his lieutenant, the merchant, the clerk, and the surgeons, all the others take their turn at the night watches and work like the rest, whatever their birth. I have seen many scions of good family that came to sea solely for their pleasure, and drew no pay, yet were liable to the same labour and fatigues as the rest.

As for the pursers, there be two of them to assist each other, because they take night watches, and every four days serve out to each man a portion of bread, wine, and water, beginning with the captain, and ending with the boy or page, to all equally, viz., three pounds of biscuit, a pot of Spanish wine, and three pots of water only to each for four days. Other victuals are supplied by the two cooks to the whole company, the pursers distributing the same in platters equally, that is, on each platter a mess for six persons, and each one takes thence his own share of biscuit and drink. At the captain's table there is always something better and out of the ordinary. Also more than six persons are provided for at his mess, for all persons of honour and quality are received there. Neither the mate nor the pilot eats at the captain's table. Six persons of like quality are chosen to mess together. Such was our manner of living on board our ships; but there was, as I found, one default amongst others, which was this, that the burgesses and owners of the ship ought to have appointed a superintendent of the provisions, who should be under the command neither of the captain nor of the mate; inasmuch as they appointed to be pursers whom they would—ill-conducted fellows, who dared not refuse them anything they asked, for fear of being removed from their office. This was the cause that our victuals were full soon eaten up, and a clean sweep made of

them, and every day arose perpetual bickerings and quarrels on this subject.

The next day after departure, the captain and mate call the whole ship's company to make the "matelotage", that is, to arrange the seamen in pairs, like comrades on shore, beginning with the captain and lieutenant down to the humblest boys; and thereafter these call each other only by the name of *matelot*.[1] This "matelotage" consists in these succouring and aiding one another like brothers, according to the custom of the sea, whensoever required. So, too, all the seamen are divided into two parties, the mate having one and the second mate the other, for purposes of relief. For, when one party is asleep, the other is on watch, and does the work for the space of four or five hours. On board our French ships there is no difference between the several mariners, as with the Portuguese; all are equal, though there be some of greater age and capacity than others, yet is there no difference made in name or quality, save only that the former receive a higher wage.

Further, I must in all candour mention one matter, which I have already touched, although it be little to the honour of the French, yet do I mention it as a warning, and to the end it may be corrected, and a better disposition made. It is this, that I have never seen mariners of such ill and vicious behaviour as ours. In our voyage the greater part of the officers and mariners were of St. Malo, and well-nigh all kinsmen; notwithstanding which there was ordinarily naught but strife and quarrel betwixt them, nor did I ever see any two men bear to one another any goodwill, friendship, or respect. None was willing to obey those that were in command. To this add—and herein is my chief complaint—that they were the greatest swearers and blasphemers of the name of God anywhere to be met with; insomuch that I ceased to feel surprise that our voyage succeeded so ill, seeing what great

[1] As our sailors say "messmate" and "mate".

sin was committed on board our ships day by day. The greater part of them were drunkards and very gluttons, for they had been well content to have eaten and drunk our whole substance in a single day, had that been possible, without any thought for the morrow. So it was that all the refreshments brought for their private use, to sustain them in sickness and necessity, were finished ere we had passed the Line; and when they fell sick, they had not wherewithal to comfort them, except the common sea fare of healthy men. The most of these fellows, too, were altogether lacking in devotion, and observed neither Lent nor Vigils; one would even rob another of his meat and drink. In good sooth, I candidly confess that I had rather make shift to do with the worst barbarians in the world than with them;—men whom oftentimes in the height of a storm I have observed to swear and blaspheme more than before. Nevertheless, they are very good soldiers and mariners, and capable beyond all other nations of the highest enterprises; albeit they will neither obey, nor deny their bellies aught, nor brook to be anywise corrected.

All these things from the beginning gave me a bad opinion of the success of our voyage; then, too, we delayed our departure too long, for in place of taking ship in the month of February, as arranged, we with difficulty got away at the end of May. This was a great fault, but the chiefest, and that which damnified us the most, was our long delay after doubling the Cape of Good Hope. Next, we did not take the course outside of the Island of St. Lawrence, the cause whereof was that we dallied too long with the Hollanders' ships. We had fine weather, and let the ships go at their will, for the most part under the lower sails; whereas the Hollanders, better sailors than we, held always to their course along the coast of Africa, and we only followed them. For the space of three or four days the matter was who should give the best cheer, with braying of trumpets, bands of

music, and volleys of cannon: all this was an affair of honour with the captains. The ship which had given the feast fired off all its guns by way of adieu, when any returned to his own vessel. The Hollanders told us it was them we had sighted on the coast of Guinea off Serseylyonne.[1] In truth, it must be confessed they are worthier to make that voyage than we, for the French are more delicate, and less capable of fatigue, and worse husbands of their resources; also they eat too much, whereas the Hollanders keep what little refreshment they have until they fall in with their friends, or fall sick, while our men never care to eat the ship's victuals so long as they have any of their luxuries left. The Hollanders also make shift to do without wine, and drink water alone. Those we met had but one quart of wine in fifteen days, while we had four. Their biscuit was all black, while ours was like chapter-house bread. On this coast of Ethiopia we saw all night long many fires on the tops of the high mountains.

But I must not forget to mention that when ships are sailing in company or meet one another at sea, and are yet afar off, and those on board cannot speak by word of mouth, this default may be supplied on both sides by the use of trumpets, whereby intelligence may be given as well as by the voice. This is observed only on the ships of the French, English, and Hollanders.

But to return to the disorders of our voyage; that which gave me the worst presage was, as I have said, the great sins committed daily by our crew. The service of God was in nowise observed, as I have seen it observed as well among the Portuguese as the English and the Hollanders; and even among the Indians, who are more observant of their religion than we of ours. Among us was nothing but quarrelling, even among our chief men; as, for instance, between the captain and the chief merchant, who

[1] *I.e.*, Sierra Leone.

struck one another, and were for more than six months without speaking or eating together; and but for the storm that overtook us off the coast of Natal, which aroused their consciences, I believe they would not have spoken during the whole voyage: and when they did so, it was not out of apprehension of death, though we saw that to be as near as well could be. All we could do was to crave pardon of God and man, and pump the ship free of water; and for four days and four nights we were without sails, helm, and masts. But the cause of their being brought together again was that after the storm was over a council was held, and advice taken what we ought to do, and where we ought to go for our refreshment, and for the repair of the ship. To this council the merchant would not come; whereupon the other officers took an attestation of the whole ship's company, to make their report of the matter on the conclusion of the voyage to the Honourable Company, forasmuch as a private quarrel, quoth they, ought not to prejudice the general concern, nor to prevent them from doing the duties of their offices. This brought about their reconciliation.

Their quarrel arose out of nothing but the placing of a chest; for the captain's brother, seeing a place vacant, had his chest placed there without more ado, whereas the merchant's chest two days ago had been removed from the same spot, because, as I believe, it interfered with the whipstaff of the helm. Thereupon the merchant comes and removes the chest, and on his own authority replaces his own. Forthwith the two come to high words, and at length to blows, and with some difficulty they were separated. We being then at anchor at the island of Anobon, our captain straightway despatched our galion to the *Croissant* to give word to Monsieur de la Bardelière of the occurrence, and begging him to come and restore order. This he did, and when he had heard the pleas on either part, and taken counsel thereupon with all the chief officers of the two vessels, he ordered the chain to be fetched,

Hearing this, the merchant, without a word, ran to his cabin to prime and cock his pistol. When the chain was brought the general gave order that he be chained by the feet to the mainmast, which is the usual place for chaining misdemeanants; but first that he should be straitly reprimanded for having dared to attack his captain. But as they went to seize him he presented his pistol ready cocked, protesting he would kill the first man that laid a hand upon him. Whereupon the general, in great wrath, vowed he would not take his departure till he should be seized; but our captain, being of a mild and benign disposition, notwithstanding that he had been insulted, himself besought the general to pardon him, and so did both ships' companies. The general yielded to this request; the merchant, however, was not appeased, for he was the proudest and haughtiest man I ever saw, and the most revengeful, and had quarrels with everyone.

In short, to return to my discourse, it was very pitiable to see so much wrangling, to hear the utterance of so much blasphemy, and to witness so many larcenies and revengeful deeds as were done amongst us. Often out of revenge they would cast overboard one another's baggage by night, or cut the cords that kept their linen and shirts together; in a word, there was no wickedness or malice they were not guilty of. When one fell sick they mocked him with the utmost inhumanity, and when one died they rejoiced, and, instead of praying God for him, said there would be so much victuals to spare. They even cursed the voyage, and all who had a hand in the undertaking: insomuch that I altogether despaired of any success to an enterprise wherein was neither law, nor discipline, nor fear of God. But if I may be permitted to make a conjecture of the sinister nature of days, I will mention what I observed, viz., that I left St. Malo on a Friday, and that I left Goa, the Maldives, St. Helena, and Brazil all on the same day, and not one of my voyages was fortunate, as I have already told.

This was the first sea-voyage I ever made, and, as it proved in my case, it was a very luckless experience to have come across such barbarous, inhuman, and ill-conditioned fellows, for out of the whole crew of the *Corbin* I found not one that was courteous and gentle, or that had a spark of honour, except our captain, *Du Clos Neuf*, who was constable of St. Malo. He was a person of good morals, and very learned, especially in mathematics and in the knowledge of the globe and of sea-charts. In short, he manifested nothing of his St. Malo origin, yet was he quite unfit to make this voyage, and it was the first time he had been to sea. He was a man of letters, and had more of the mien of a courtier than of aught else. He was, indeed, too gentle and timid for a captain, and none of the St. Malo men, who, though they knew each other well, were quite without mutual respect, took any account of his orders. Neither of our captains had any authority from the king or the Court of Parliament to administer justice, therefore everyone encroached. Moreover, our captain was of a melancholic complexion, and somewhat delicate and weak in body, so that he was incapable of great fatigue, and had none of the qualities requisite in a soldier and a seaman. This may serve for an advertisement to all that would undertake great voyages, to choose their men well according to their qualities and natures. For it is necessary that the chiefs and leaders of such enterprises should be both well qualified and of good character; and I know full well, by the ill-conduct and government of our voyage, how dearly we paid for default in selection of a captain.

The captain must not only be a man of authority and of good birth, he must understand the sphere and navigation chart; he must be of soldierly temper, and of great endurance; above all, he must have absolute power over all beneath him, even to condemn them to death. For if he be a son of the soil, and of humble condition, he will not be feared; and if such an one attempts to inspire fear by use of

force, there will be risk of revolt. Next, the men whom he chooses must be of proper quality, not given to wine, nor mutinous, nor quarrelsome, for a single mutineer in a ship infects the whole crew. Next let him appoint for pursers trustworthy men, and let him as little as possible hector his crew, especially those that hold responsible posts. Let him show favour to the well-deserving, and rather to good mariners than to good soldiers. To my knowledge, some of our men, in revenge for a single cuff which the mate gave to a Flemish gunner, made a plot, when we should be arrived at Sumatra, to lay a slow match to blow up all the powder in the ship before deserting; so they afterwards confessed to us, when we were wrecked at the Maldives. And notwithstanding that we were all in the like captivity, they spoke all the ill they could of us to the king of the Maldives, saying we were all robbers and pirates, and had brought them by force. This had not much effect, because the Maldivians could not have treated us worse than they did. But thus it is seen how the recklessness of a single man can sometimes ruin a whole community, and also how dangerous it is to give the command of a vessel to one that hath not skill to exercise it well.

More than all, a good mariner cannot be too highly prized and rewarded, for he is seldom to be had. You will find plenty of raw hands, that is, fellows to haul on the ropes, but the mariners are they who rig and handle the ship, and are always ready to go aloft to the mast-heads. A good mariner is much more able to save a ship than a good soldier is.

Finally, a captain ought to establish good order in his ship from the very first; he should be careful above all that prayers be duly said, and to this effect should take with him some ecclesiastics (as I said before), and should require respect to be paid to them, for the seamen will tender respect and honour to none unless constrained thereto. He must

also rigorously punish all thefts, and chiefly those of meat and drink, wherein great robberies are most commonly practised.

Such are the disorders and troubles that most usually arise in our ships, and cause all our enterprises to succeed so ill. Let us, then, take warning to remedy the same, as, indeed, may easily be done by the means which I have described, so may these be of some material service to all who shall in the future undertake voyages of the like nature.

God be praised.

DICTIONARY

OF

SOME WORDS OF THE MALDIVE LANGUAGE.

In many parts of my book I have observed upon the diversity of languages which are current throughout the East Indies. I shall therefore content myself here, by merely repeating that about Goa and its neighbourhood, besides the Portuguese, which is the chief one in vogue, there is a native language called *Canarine*.[1] Next there is the Malabar, which extends along the whole Malabar coast, from Ceylon and Cape Comory as far as Goa; for on the opposite coast, toward the east, the language commonly spoken is that called *Guzerate*,[2] which extends far into the inner country of the mainland and the realm of the Grand Mogor. This language is also spoken in Cambaye, Bengal, Bisnagat, and elsewhere, differing only slightly in dialects and idioms. At Malacca there is a language called *Malaye*, which also prevails over a wide region, even to the Sunda Islands; for example, Sumatra, the Javas, the Moluccas, etc. As for the Maldives, they have their own separate language, which is spoken only at those islands. The best is spoken in the northern islands near the king's court, for towards the south they speak somewhat more rudely, being more remote from the court, and from inter-

[1] More properly *Konkani;* the modern division of North Canara is part of the territory properly known as the Konkan, and the old Portuguese called the natives of their territory, both those of Goa and the North (properly the *Konkanis*), and also those to the southward, indiscriminately *Canarins.*

[2] A mistake: the languages on the east coast are chiefly Tamil and Telugu. He was probably thinking of Mahratti.

course with other nations. Besides this vulgar tongue, they use also the Arabic language for the affairs of religion and matters of science, just as Latin is employed with us; it is spoken and understood only by the priests and the learned. I might have made a complete dictionary of the native language, inasmuch as my long sojourn gave me a sufficiently large and exact acquaintance with it; but in order not to weary my readers, I will content myself with giving here some of the principal and more necessary words, which may, I trust, satisfy the keenest curiosity.[1]

[1] In the following vocabulary the modern forms and notes are, for convenience, placed side by side. The first two columns represent the text. The third column shows the words as now written and used. It will seen that, in many cases—such as *Kalége* "God", *hulagu* "wind", *kadu* "sea", etc.—the *n* of Pyrard's time is no longer written: it is, however, still sounded in speech, giving the consonant, which formerly followed it, a slight nasal tone. The cases where this pronunciation occurs will be found by reference to the words in the first column.

The few instances in which Pyrard has misapprehended the exact meaning of words will be noted in the fourth column, where also are given the Sinhalese equivalents and some of the more obvious derivations.

Some years ago, before I had the advantage of Mr. Bell's assistance, I published this vocabulary in the *Journal* of the R. Asiatic Society (N. S., vol. x, p. 173). In testimony of Pyrard's accuracy, I then supplied the modern equivalents from the vocabulary compiled by Lieut. Christopher, in 1821, and published in the *J. R. A. S.*, vols. v, vi. This list, which is fuller than Pyrard's, and the only other as yet published, should be referred to by anyone desirous of further studying the Maldive dialect. As it coincides, with but few exceptions, with Mr. Bell's list of equivalents in the third column, it has been thought that special mention of it in the fourth column is hardly required except in cases of variance.

Some valuable suggestions as to cognate Sinhalese words have been supplied by B. Gunasekara Mudaliyar, Chief Government Translator at Colombo, and F. M. Wikramasinha, Assistant Librarian, Colombo Museum.

Pyrard's Vocabulary.		Modern.	Notes.
God	*Calangue*	(*Ma'*) *Kaláge*	Lit. the Great One; perhaps the same word as *callans*, v. infrà.
Paradise	*Souergue*	*suwaruge*	Sin. and Sansk. *swarga*.
Hell	*Narque*	*naraka*	Sin. *naraka*.
Angel	*Roüa*	*ráha*	Ar. *rúh*, soul, spirit. "Angel" is erroneous; the word is the Arabic equivalent of *furana*, infrà.
Devil	*Chaitanne*	*saitán*	Ar. *Shaitán*.
Lucifer	*Pourete*	*furéta*	Sin. *préta*, goblin, sprite.
Evil spirit	*Ybilis*	*ibilis*	Ar. *iblis*.
Good deed	*daroumant*	*daruma*	Sin. and Sansk. *dharmma*.
Prayer	*Aloquan Coura*	*aḷukan-kuráṇ*	Perhaps the Sin. *aluyamehára*, the observance during the morning watch.
Sin	*papa*	*fáfa*	Sin. *pápa*.
Love	*Niet*	*niyat*	*t* mute.
Will	*rohon*	*ruhun*	Sin. *rihi*, wish or desire.
Law, religion	*Dime*	*din*	Ar. *din*.
Understanding	*bouddy*	*buddi*	Sin. *buddhi*
Soul	*Pourane*	*furana*	Sin. *práṇa*.
World	*Donia*	*duniya*	Ar. *dunyá*.
Sky	*Ouddou*	*udu*	Sin. *uda*, above.
Sun	*Yroys*	*iru*	Sin. *iru*.
Star	*Tary*	*tari*	Sin. *taru*.
Star of the North	*Gaa*	*gahá*	Sin. *gaha* (Nám,) the North Star.
Star of the South or S. Cross	*Cally*	*káli*	Sin. *káli* (*see* Clough).
Planets	*Naquate*	*nakat*	Sin. *nakat*. In Maldive the final *t* is almost mute.
North	*Outourou*	*uturu*	Sin. *uturu*.
South	*Deconnou*	*dekunu*	Sin. *dakuṇu*.
East	*Yroüez*	*irunvá*	*I.e.*, the sun-rise quarter. *Iru*, sun; *vá*, coming.
West	*Olangou*	*hulagu*	*I.e.*, the windward quarter; cf. Sin. *sulanga* or *hulanga*, wind.
Fire	*alipan*	*alifán*	Cf. Sin. *eliya*, light, and *pána* for *pahana*, meaning also light or clear sight. The Sinhalese say *elipan velá*, "the light having appeared", *i.e.*, when it is dawn.

Pyrard's Vocabulary.		Modern.	Notes.
Water	*Penne*	*fen* or *feṇ*	Sin. *pœn.*
Earth	*Bin*	*bin* or *biṇ*	Sin. *bima;* cf. also Sin. *gambin*, landed property.
Sea	*Candoue*	*kaḍu*	Cf. Tam. *kaḍal.*
Clouds	*Vilas*	*vilá*	Sin. *valá.*
Thunder	*gougourou*	*guguri*	Sin. *gigiri, giguru*, or *gigiru;* and *guguranavá*, to thunder.
Lightning	*vidi*	*vidá*	Sin. *vidu.*
Rain	*varé*	*váré*	Sin. *vaharé.*
Wind	*vaé*	*vái*	Sin. *vá.*
Tempest	*vissare*	*vissára*	Cf. Sin. *vissára* or *visári*, the region of the wind.
Dew	*pini*	*fini*	Sin. *pini.*
Day	*Duale*	*duválu*	Sin. *daval* and *davála.*
Night	*regande*	*ré* or *régaḍu*	Sin. *ræ.* The Maldivians say *ré-gaḍu*, the night part (of the day), just as the Sinhalese use *ræ-bága*, with the same meaning.
Noon	*medurou*	*menduru*	Prob. *meḍa iru*, the middle sun.
Midnight	*medan*	*mendamu*	Sin. *maddhyama (rátriya)*, the middle (of the night).
Morning	*indunon*	*heḍunu*	Cf. Pali *aha-udana;* Sin. *udæsana*, morning.
Evening	*auire*	*haviru*	Perh.=*hava-iru*, wasted sun; cf. Sin. *havasa* or *savasa.*
To-day	*adu*	*adu*	Sin. *ada.*
Yesterday	*Yé*	*iyyé*	Sin. *iyé.*
To-morrow	*madaman*	*mádamá*	
Past time	*eyouduas*	*ihu duvas*	Sin. *iha* or *isa*, before; and *davas*, days. Cf. also, Sin. *ayu*, past.
Future	*paon duas*	*fahu duvas*	Cf. Sin. *pahu-dawas*, the following day, the morrow.
Hour	*dam*	*dama*	A space of three hours; Sin. *yáma.* An hour is *sáya* (Chr. *sahádu*), Ar. *sá'at.*
Sunday	*Adyta*	*Áḍita*	Sin. *Aḍitiya*, the Sun (God).
Monday	*Homa*	*Hóma*	Sin. *Sóma* or *hóma*, the Moon.
Tuesday	*Engare*	*Aṇgára*	Sin. *Angaharuvá*, Mars.
Wednesday	*Bouda*	*Buda*	Sin. *Buda*, Mercury.
Thursday	*Bouraspaty*	*Burasfati*	Sin. *Brihaspati*, Jupiter.
Friday	*Oucouron*	*Hukuru*	Sin. *Sikurá*, Venus.
Saturday	*Onnyre*	*Honihiru*	Sin. *Senasurá*, Saturn.
Month	*masse*	*mas*	Sin. *másа* and *maṁsa.*

Pyrard's Vocabulary.		Modern.	Notes.
Clear	*aly*	*ali*	Sin. *alu* and *eli*, light.
Dull	*endiry*	*adiri*	Sin. *andura*.
'Tis day	*aly viligué*	*ali-vilijje*	Cf. Sin. *eli-velá*, and *aluyam vélchi*.
'Tis night	*reuegué*	*ré-vejje*	Cf. Sin. *ræ-velá*. The *vejje* here, and the *vilijje* of the foregoing expression, seem to be the past participle, corresponding to the Sin. *vecheha*.
Life	*dyril*	*diri*	Sin. *divi*.
Death	*mare*	*maru*	Sin. *mara* (n.), and *maru*, death (m.).
Sickness	*bally*	*bali*	Cf. Sin. *bæri* in *bæri-kama*, inability, *i e.*, sickness.
Fever	*homan*	*huma*	Ar. *hummà;* but the word *hun* is also used (see vol. i, p. 83), which seems to be the Sin. *una*, or *huna*.
Country	*ral*	*rarha* or *ra'*	Cf. Sin. *raṭa*. Sansk. *rashtra*.
Beach or Sea-shore	*atiry*	*atiri*	Cf. Sin. *tíra*, *tera*, and *addara*.
Island	*guesiral*	*jazira*	Ar. *jazírat*.
Kingdom	*raḏué*	*rajje*	Sin. *rajya*.
River	*core*	*kóru*	Sin. *ho* and *oya*, river. *Kóru* is applied to any channel or drain.
Salt	*loṇe*	*lunu*	Sin. *lunu*.
Sea- or Salt-water	*lonepene*	*lunu-fen*	The Sin. use *lunu-diya* (*diya* = water).
Fresh water	*mirepene*	*miru-fen*	Sin. *miripænna* (*mihiri*, or *miyuru*, sweet, and *pæn*).
Scented water	*pinipene*	*fini-fen*	Sin. *pini* (*pæn*), but here again the Sin. use *diya*.
Rain-water	*varepene*	*váre-fen*	Sin. *varu-diya*.
Sand	*vely*	*veli*	Sin. *væli*.
Coast	*caras*	*kara*	Cf. Sin. *kara* in *múdé-kara*, and Tam. *karai*.
Cape	*capy*	*kafi*	Perhaps connected with Sin. *kæpu*, that which is cut off: cf. Lat. *caput*, Gr. κεφαλή, and English *cape*. The Maldivians use *de-kafi*, two headlands, but not *ek-kafi*, one headland.

	Pyrard's Vocabulary.	Modern.	Notes.
Trees	*gats*	*gas*	Sin. *gas*, *gasa*, and *gaha*. In Mald. *gas*, sing. and pl., in Sin. only plural now.
Herbs	*pila*	*fila*	Sin. *pila*, tree, and *pili*, leaves.
Birds	*donny*	*dúni*	
Fishes	*masse*	*mas*	Sin. *mas*.
Beasts	*soupis*	*súfi*	Cf. Sin. *sivupává*, quadruped.
Lion	*singa*	*siṇga*	Sin. *siṇha*.
Elephant	*el*	*e'*	Sin. *ætá*.
Camel	*ol*	*o'*	Sin. *oṭuvá*; Sansk. *aṭṭhaka*.
Horse	*asse*	*as*	Sin. *as* and *aswayá*.
Ox : cow	*guery*	*geri*	Sin. *geri*.
Pig	*oure*	*úru*	Sin. *úrá*.
Dog	*nagoubalou*	*baḷu*	Sin. *baḷu* and *baḷlá*. The *nagou balou* is an amusing mistake. There were no dogs at the Maldives (see vol. i, p. 116), but the expression *nagu-balu*, tailed dog (*nagu* = tail), was and is still a term of abuse.
Cat	*boulau*	*buḷá*	Sin. *balalá*; Sansk. *bilála*.
Sheep (m., f.)	*bacary*	*bakari*	Ar. *bakara*; but cf. Sin. *bakalaya*, a strange or distorted animal.
Rat	*mida*	*midá*	Sin. *miyá*.
Civet	*zabade boulau*	*zabádu-buḷá*	Lit. "civet-cat".
Leopard	*vagou*	*vagu*	Sin. *vagas*
Stag	*poulla*	*fulla*	Cf. Sin. *pulli*, the spotted one.
Hen	*coucoulou*	*kukuḷu*	Sin. *kukulo*, fowls, but *kukulá*, cock, and *kikili*, hen.
Cock	*aule*	*há*	Sin. *sœvul*.
Crow	*caule*	*kálu*	Sin. *ká*, the one that *caws*; though it may be "the black one", from *kalu*, black, the *a* being sometimes lengthened in Sin.; *e.g.*, *kála-gólayá*, the nickname of a black short man.
Pigeon	*cotaron*	*kottaru*	Mr. Bell thinks this too is onomatopoeic, and cites a Vedda song, in which the cooing of doves is represented "*kuṭurun, kuṭurun kiyannan*".

Pyrard's Vocabulary.		Modern.	Notes.
Parrot	*gouray*	*gurá*	Sin. *girá*.
Heron	*macana*	*má-kaná*	Cf. Sin. *kana koká*, the paddy bird (*Loxia orizivora*).
Coconut tree	*roul*	*ru'*	Sin. *ruk* and *ruka*.
„ fruit	*caré*	*kárhi*	
„ timber	*ory*	*orhi*	Not the timber, but only the mid rib or stalk of the branches
„ leaves	*pan*	*fan, faŋ*	Sin. *paŋ*, leaves used for plaiting or thatching.
„ flower	*maoë*	*má*	Sin. *mala*.
„ root	*moul*	*mú*	Sin. *mula*.
„ top	*coury*	*kuri*	Sin. *kuru*.
Coco-honey	*acourou*	*hakuru*	Sin. *hakuru* and *sakuru*.
Bees'-honey	*ma mouy*	*mamuy*	
Sugar	*ous-courou*	*us-sakuru*	Sin. *uk*, sugar-cane, and *sakuru*.
Sugar-candy	*lone acourou*	*lunu-hakuru*	Lit. salt-sugar. It is lump-sugar, with some salt mixed with it.
Wine	*ras*	*rá*	The M. *rá* is sweet toddy; the Sin. *rá* is fermented.
Pepper	*miuou*	*mirus*	Sin. *miris*, chillies, *gam-miris*, pepper.
Cinnamon	*ponian boutory*	*fonitorhi*	Lit. the sweet (*foni*) bark (*torhi*). M. *foni* = Sin. *pœni* in *pœnidodan*, sweet oranges. Pyrard inserts *anbu*, making it the bark of the sweet mango.
Nutmeg	*tacoua*	*takúva'*	
Cloves	*carampou*	*karaŋfú*	Sin. *karábu*, Tam. *karánpu*.
Ginger	*ingourou*	*iŋguru*	Sin. *inguru*.
Oranges	*narigue*	*nárigu*	Sin. *naran-gedi*. Ar. *náranj*.
Limes	*lomboy*	*lubó*	Cf. Hind.-Pers. *limú*.
Pomegranates	*anare*	*annáru*	Pers. *anár*.
Dates	*cadourou*	*kaduru*	Hind. *khajur*.
Gold	*rhan*	*ran, raŋ*	Sin. *raŋ*.
Silver	*rihi*	*rihi*	Sin. *ridi*.
Tin	*oudu timara*	*hudu-timara*	This is whitelead. Malay *timá*, and Sin. and Mald. *hudu*, white.

Pyrard's Vocabulary.		Modern.	Notes.
Lead	*callothimara*	*kalu-timara*	Lead proper. Malay *tima*, and M. and Sin. *kalu*, black.
Iron	*dagande*	*dagaḍu*	Sin. *yakaḍa*.
Steel	*miellany*	*miyalani*	This is cast steel.
Brass	*taras*	*tará*	A mixture of metals.
Bronze	*loë*	*lo*	Sin. *ló*, and *lóha*, metal in general.
Copper	*ramvanloë*	*ranvan-lo*	The gold-like metal.
Man (m.)	*pyrienne*	*firihenuṇ*	Sin. *pirimi*.
Woman	*anghaine*	*aṇhenuṇ*	Sin. *angana*.
Child	*dary*	*dari*	Sin. *daru*.
My son	*mapoutte*	*mage futá*	In the northern atolls they say *mage darifulu*; but *mage futá* is still used in the south. Sin. *mage putá* = my son.
My daughter	*mandié*	*manje*	Cf. Sin. *mangi*, younger sister: used to any young girl.
My wife	*ambye*	*abi*	
Husband	*piris*	*firi* (*miha*)	Sin. *pirimi*.
Full brother or sister	*hecbande*	*eb-baḍu*	Lit. children of one womb. Half brothers and sisters on the father's side are *debaḍu*.
Son-in-law	*damy*	*dami*	Cf. Hind. *jamkí'i*.
Father-in-law	*hours*		The ordinary expressions are *bafáhalége*, father-in-law, and *mádáitá*, mother-in-law. The words given seem to be the Pâli *sasura* and *sassú*.
Mother-in-law	*housse*		
Male relative	*lien*	*liyan*	Really sister's husband or wife's brother.
Female relative	*pauery*	*fahaveri*	Really brother's wife or husband's sister.
Father	*bapa*	*bafá*	Sin. *bapa*.
Grandfather	*capaé*	*káfá*	In the southern atolls *káfá* = father's father, and *máfá*, mother's father.
Mother	*amaé*	*amá*	Sin. *ammá* and *ambá*.
Grandmother	*mamonia*	*munimámá*	In the southern atolls *mámá* = mother's mother, and *munná*, father's mother.
Daughter-in-law	*lis*	*lí*	Sin. *léli*.
Elder brother	*bee*	*bébé*	

Pyrard's Vocabulary.		Modern.	Notes.
Elder sister	*daïtas*	*dáita*	
Younger brother	*coé*	*koyi*	Cf. Sin. *kóllá, kellá, kelli.* In both languages used irrespectively of actual relationship.
Younger sister	*cocas*	*koyá*	
Kinsmen	*timans*	*timan*	Lit. "I" or "mine" = Sin. *tamun.*
Cou ins-german	*de bee dedary*	*de bé de-dari*	Lit. the two children of two (elder) brothers, or brothers' children. The Sinhalese do not use this dual, but with them parents are called *de-maw-piyo.*
Companions	*demitourou*	*de-miturú*	The dual is much used in Maldivian. See foregoing, also *de-mihun*, two men, *de-dúni*, two birds. The islanders do not, however, use the singular dual of the Sinhalese, *dennek*, a (party of) two persons. *Miturú* = Sin. *mitura.* Chr. gives *rahumaiteri*, friend.
Friends	*macelats*	*masalas*	*I.e.*, reconciled friends. Cf. Ar. *musálaha.* Chr. gives *masalas* = pleasure, amusement.
Enemies	*roudy*	*ruli*	Cf. Sin. *rodra*, wrath; *ruduru*, cruel.
My master	*manica*	*maniku*	Cf. Sin. *mænika.* A few persons, such as the Cazi, are styled *maniku-fánu.*
Teacher	*aydru*	*eduru*	Cf. Sin. *œduru. Wastadu* (Ar. *ustád*) is also used.
Mistress	*maniqué*	*manike*	

King *rascan* *raskan* This is probably not quite accurate. The ordinary term for king is *rasge-fánu* (*fánu* being merely honorific), which Christopher gives. The Sultan's letters to Ceylon use the word *ras* (= Sin. *rajan, rada*). *Rasge* is, therefore, genitival, *ge* being the genitive suffix common to Maldive and Sinhalese: *rasge-fánu* is thus our "King's Majesty". *Ras-kan* would seem = Sin. *raja-kama*, king's business, government; and Mr. Bell cites in favour of this view the following expressions used in the Sultan's letters:—

Pyrard's Vocabulary.	Modern.	Notes.
	raskamugai vadaigen innavá, "he who is carrying on the government"; and *Divehi Rájé raskamu vadaigenvá*, "he who is carrying on the government of the Maldive realm".	
Queen	*renequilague*	*rani-kilage-(fánu)*	The *kila* is probably of Persian origin.
Prince	*callans*	*kalá-(fánu)*	Cf. Pers. *kalán*, great.
Princess	*camenas*	*kamana-(fánu)*	Cf. Sin. *Hœmini*, lady; Sansk. *kamini*, woman.
Lord	*saibou*	*sáhibu*	Common to Pers., Hind., etc. Orig. Ar. *Sáhib*, companion.
Lady	*saibas*	*sáhiba*	
Gentleman	*tacourou*	*takuru-(fánu)*	See vol. i, p. 58, *note*.
Young lady	*bibis*	*bibi*	Pers. *bibi*, lady.
Well-born man	*calogue*	*kalóge-(fánu)*	
„ woman	*camulogue*	*kamulóge-(fánu)*	
Low-born man	*callo*	*kalo*	*I.e.*, without the honorific suffix as in the preceding terms.
„ woman	*camulo*	*kamulo*	

Captain	*sardare*	*sarudáru*	Pers. *sardár*.
Soldiers	*engou*	*hagu bé-(kalun)*	Chr. writes *kanggube*: from Sansk. *anga*, an arm, a limb; hence *chatur-anga*, the four arms, an army.
Fighting	*engouran*	*hagurárna*	
Arms	*sillia*	*siléha*	Cf. Sin. *sili*.
Cannon	*badi*	*baḍi*	Cf. Sin. *vedi*.
Gunpowder	*badi baise*	*baḍi-bés*	Sin. *vedi-bét*.
Arquebuze	*caytte*	*kaituva'*	The *-tuva'* is evidently the Sin. *tuvakkuva*, a gun. Mr. Bell suggests that the first syllable may represent *kála*, death.
Ball	*onda*	*uṇḍa*	Sin. *uṇḍiya* or *uṇḍé*.
Lance	*lancia*	*lonsi*	Port. *lança*.
Sword	*candye*	*kaḍi*	Sin. *kaḍuva*.
Shield	*addande*	*aḍḍaná*	
Dagger	*creis*		Malay *kris*.
Knife	*piohy*	*fiyohi*	Sin. *pihiya*.
Javelin	*ziconty*		Cf. Hind. *sentí*.
A person	*miou*	*mihu'*	Sin. *minihá*.
Head	*bolle*	*bo, bolu'*	Sin. *oluva*, but cf. *bola*.

Pyrard's Vocabulary.		Modern.	Notes.
Hair	*ystarin*	*istari*	Apparently = "head-tree"; Sin. *isa*, head, and *tura* or *turu*, tree; cf. *tará* (Nam.), canopy.
Ears	*campat*	*kaṇfat*	Sin. *kampetta*, ear = *kana*, *pata*, or *petta*.
Eyebrows	*bouman*	*buma*	Sin. *bœma*, Sansk. *bhamuka*.
Eyes	*lols*	*ló*; *lólu*	Cf. Sansk. *lócana*, Pali *lóchana*, eyes.
Nose	*nepat*	*néfat*	Sin. *nœhœ*, *nahaya*.
Moustaches	*naraualle*	*nuravá*	I had interpreted *naraualle* as the "manly hair", Sin. *nara*, male, and *wála*, hair; but the more correct *nuravá* contradicts this. Moreover, Mr. Bell states that the latter means not the moustaches themselves, but the bare space betwixt them. The hair of the moustaches is *matimas*, lit. upper- (*mati*=Sin. *matu*) beard (*mas*).
Beard	*tombouly*	*tubuli*	
Lips	*tombou*	*tubu*	
Mouth	*'angá*	*aga*	
Teeth	*dat*	*dat*	Sin. *dat*.
Tongue	*douls*	*du*	Sin. *diva*, *divu*.
Cheeks	*cos*	*kó*	Sin. *kopula*.
Neck	*gandouras*	*kaḍerá*	
Shoulders	*condou*	*koḍu*	Sin. *kaṅda*.
Arms	*at*	*aï*	Sin. *at*.
Right arm	*canat'*	*kanaï*	Lit. the eating hand; Sin. *kanavá*, to eat.
Left arm	*vaat*	*vaï*	Sin. *vamata* (*vama*, *ata*).
The side	*quibat*	*kiba*	Pesh. Sin. *kayé-báge*, half or side of the body.
Fingers	*inguily*	*igili*	Sin. *æṅgili*, *aṅguli*.
Nails	*niapaty*	*niyafati*	Sin. *niyapotu*.
Skin	*ans*	*han*, *haṇ*	Sin. *hama*, pl. *han*.
Nerves	*nare*	*náru*	Sin. *nahara*.
Blood	*lets*	*lé*	Sin. *lé*.
Chest	*oura*	*ura*-(*mati*)	Sin. *ura*, heart, and *mati*, over.
Navel	*poulou*	*fúḷu*	Sin. *buriya*.
Abdomen	*bande*	*baḍu*	Sin. *baḍa*.

Pyrard's Vocabulary.		Modern.	Notes.
Knees	*cacoulou*	*kakuḷa*	Sin. *kakul*, legs.
Buttocks	*boudou*	*budu*	Cf. Sin. *puduva*.
Feet	*paé*	*fá*	Sin. *pá*, *paya*, *piya*.
Heart	*il*	*hit*	Sin. *hada*.
Liver	*mee*	*mé*	
Cloth	*sacalas*		Pers. *sakallát*, the *syklatoun* of Chaucer, perhaps the origin of our "scarlet": it appears sometimes applied to silk and sometimes to woollen stuffs. See Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v. *Suclát*; and *supra*, vol. i, p. 244.
Linen	*pellé*	*féli*	Sin. *pilí*.
White	*houde*	*hudu*	Sin. *sudu*, *hudu*.
Black	*callo*	*kaḷu*	Sin. *kaḷu*.
Yellow	*rindou*	*ridú*	Sansk. *haridu*, yellow.
Red	*rat*	*ray*	Sin. *rata*, *ratu*, *rat*.
Blue	*bes*	*fehi*	Chr. gives *blue* = *nú*, ; Sansk. *nil*. Mr. Bell says *fehi* = green, as applied to green mould.
Silk	*farouy*	*farui*	Apparently = silk-thread.
Thread	*ouy*	*ui*	Sin. *huya*, thread.
Cotton	*capa*	*kafa*	Sin. *kapú*.
Wool	*cambali*	*kambaḷi*	Sansk. *kambala*, the Anglo-Indian "cumbly", a coarse woollen blanket. See Yule, *Gloss.*, under this head.
Hemp	*quitan*	*kittán*	Ar. *kattán*. Pers. *katán* ("cotton").
Velvet	*velouzy*		Port. *veludo*.
Satin	*sopy*	*súfi*	
Petticoat	*enqué*		
Turban	*caqué*	*kachchc*	Cf. Tam. *kachchai*; Chr. gives *faguḍi*.
Gown	*libasse*	*libás*	Ar. *libás*; see vol. i, pp. 167, 372.
Slippers	*pacuane*	*faiván*	Sin. *paya*, foot, and *vahan*, cover or dress.
Hat	*topye*		Sin. *topiya*, from Hind. *topí*. The fez is called *tákihá*.
Cloak	*caban*		Ar. *kabá*, and hence Port. *cabaya*. See vol. i, p. 372.
Shoes	*samboc*		

Pyrard's Vocabulary.		Modern.	Notes.
One	*hec*	*eke'; e'*	Sin. *eka*, and *é* as in *é-siyak* = 100.
Two	*dec*	*'dé'*	Sin. *deka.*
Three	*tinet*	*tiné'*	Sin. *tuna.*
Four	*ataret*	*hatare'*	Sin. *hatara.*
Five	*pahet*	*fahe'*	Sin. *paha.*
Six	*ahet*	*haye'*	Sin. *haya.*
Seven	*atec*	*hate'*	Sin. *hata.*
Eight	*aret*	*arhé'*	Sin. *ata.*
Nine	*nouahet*	*nuvaye'*	Sin. *navayą.*
Ten	*diahet*	*dihaye'*	Sin. *daha.*
Eleven	*ecolohet*	*'eholohe'*	Sin. *ekoloha.*
Twelve	*dolohet*	*dolohe'*	Sin. *dolaha.*

Note that they count up to twelve (as we do up to ten), then they go on by twelves, and their "hundred" is ninety-six, or eight times twelve.[1]

Twenty-four	*passee*	*fassehi*	Sin. *pasvisi* = 25.
Thirty-six	*tindolos*	*tindolos*	*I.e.*, three dozen.
Forty-eight	*panas*	*fanas*	Sin. *panas* = 50.
Sixty	*passedolos*	*fas-dolos*	*I.e.*, five dozen.
Eighty-four	*addolos*	*had-dolos*	*I.e.*, seven dozen.
Ninety-six	*ya*	*hiya*	Sin. *siya* = 100.
Thousand, or ten times ninety-six	*assa*	*hás*	Sin. *dása* = 1,000.
Million, or ten times a thousand (*sic*)	*labqua*	*lakka*	Sin. *lakshayą* = 100,000. It may be noted, however, that in Malay and nearly all the languages of the Archipelago *laksa* means 10,000.
House	*gué*	*gé*	Sin. *gé.*
Temple	*mesquite*	*miskit*	Ar. *masjid.*[2]
Kitchen	*vadique*	*badi-gé*	*I.e.*, fry-house; cf. Sin. *badinavá.*
Door	*dore*	*doru*	Sin. *dora.*
"Compound" (of a house)	*gouety*		
Wall	*paore*	*fáru*	Sin. *pavura.*
Guest	*nasile*		*nazel.*

[1] See "Note on the Maldive Numerals", at the end of this Vocabulary.

[2] Col. Yule notes (*Gloss. s. v.* "Mosque"): "According to Pyrard *mesquite* is the word used in the Maldive Islands. It is difficult to suppose the people would adopt such a word from the Portuguese (*mèsquita*). And probably the form both in east and west is to be accounted for by a hard pronunciation of the Arabic *j* as in Egypt now; the older and probably the most widely diffused."

Pyrard's Vocabulary.		Modern.	Notes.
Precious stones	*es*	*es*	Sin. *æs*; lit. "eyes".
Diamond	*alimas*	*alumas*	Pers. *almás.*
Ruby	*yacouth*	*yágutu*	Ar. *yaḳút.*
Emerald	*akika*	*agida*	Cf. Ar. *akika*, bloodstone.
Turquoise	*persi*	*firózu*	*I.e.*, the "Persian" stone, as we call it the "Turkish".[1]
Pearls	*moul*	*muy*	Sin. *mutu*, *mutya*, or *muttika.*
Ring	*moudi*	*mudi*	Sin. *mudu.*
Bracelet	*oula*	*walá*	Sin. *valá*, *vala.*
Necklet	*guilli*	*giléfati*	
Chain	*partare*	*fattara*	Cf. Sin. *patta*, bandage, ligature.
Ambergris	*gomman*	*goma*	Sin. *góma*, cowdung; see vol i, p. 229.
Musk	*castury*	*kastúri*	Sin. and Sansk. *kastúri.*
Civet	*zabade*	*zabádu*	Ar. and Pers. *zabád.*
Storax	*comozane*	*kunumzáni*	"Incense."
Sulphur	*cassadoine*	*kassanduvání*	Cf. Sin. *kasá*, sulphur.
Quicksilver	*raha*	*raha*	Sin. *raha-diya*, lit. "moving-water".
Alum	*sabou*	*sabbu*	Ar. *shabb.*
Copperas	*tutia*	*tutiya*	Sin. Sansk. *tuttha*, *tutthaka.*
Compass	*samca*	*samugá*	Tam. *samukká*, Sansk. *chumbaka.*
Loadstone	*niamirgau*	(*niyamin-gau*)	Lit. "pilot-stone", but not used now.
Pilot	*niamyr*	*niyamin*	Prob. Sin. *næva*, ship, and Ar. *emir*, chief; Chr. gives *niyameng* = mate or lieutenant.
Mariner	*calassir*	*kalási*	Ar. *Khalási.*
Marine chart	*mouraban*	*murubbá*	
Cross-staff for taking height of the stars.	*pilagaha*		Chr. has *filá*; the *gaha* is tree or rod.
Ship	*ody*	*odi*	Cf. Tam. *odam.*
Galley	*gourrabe*	*gurábu*	Ar. Hind. *ghuráb*; see vol. i, p. 312.
Anchor	*naguilly*	*nagili*	Mr. Bell suggests = Sin. *nangurama*, anchor, or *nagula*, tail. It may, however, be ship-chain; cf. Sin. *næva*, ship, and *guilli*, above translated necklet.

[1] This may probably be the original form; but *firoza* = "victorious"; and that seems to be the transformed meaning.

NOTE ON THE MALDIVE NUMERALS.

It is clear, from the numbers given above, that the Maldivians, on their separation from the Sinhalese, took with them to their islands the decimal system of notation. Their numbers, not only up to 10, but also beyond (*ekolohe'* = *eko-laha* = 1 + 10, and *dolohe'* = *do-laha* = 2 + 10, etc.), were the same as the Sinhalese, and the common inheritance of Aryan races. Since the separation, the remote situation of the islanders has enabled them to evolve for themselves a complete duodecimal system, founded upon the words of the old decimal system. This native system, born of commercial convenience, after flourishing for several centuries, has in its turn been compelled to yield to the necessities of international intercourse, and a decimal system, in which the numbers after 10 are borrowed from the modern tongues of India, is said to be ousting the practice of counting by twelves.

A perusal of the chapter on the art of counting, in Mr. Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, shows clearly enough that if Nature had but endowed the human hand with an extra finger, the use of duodecimal counting would now be almost universal. As it is, digital counting obtained too strong a hold on the practice of primitive races to be displaced by a notation founded on the number "twelve", the advantages of which, in point of divisibility, would not become obvious until a race arrived at the commercial stage. The permanence of the decimal system is also largely due, no doubt, to the use of figures, or written symbols for numbers, and more especially to the discovery of the cipher. When this stage was reached, and numbers were employed in arithmetical calculations for a large diversity of purposes, it was thenceforth impossible to alter the common use.

The Maldivians, however, were favourably situated for making their gallant experiment in numbers. Their commerce consisted chiefly in cowries, their transactions in which would, in nearly all cases, be conducted orally. At an early period of their separate nationality they must have found the advantage of the number 12, though the growth of the new practice cannot be clearly traced. Ibn Batuta, our only Maldive authority before Pyrard, does not give us a list of numbers, and those stated may be inexact. Among them, however, is the word "cotta" (catty), which, he says, meant a parcel of 24,000 cowries. This is an indication of the use of twelve in transactions, though we cannot tell whether, in the Moorish traveller's time, the number thirteen was represented by 12 + 1, and no longer by 10 + 3. The title of the Sultan, as given by Pyrard (vol. i, p. 95), and evidently an ancient formula, shows the two systems in competition. He was called "Sultan of 12,000 islands and 13 atolls", the words being *dolos assa rat* (= 12,000 lands),

and *tera atholon* (= 13 atolls). Now the assignment of the number 12,000 to the Maldives is merely evidence of the prevalence of the number 12, and indicative of a vast number, stated with conscious want of preciseness. The number *tera*, on the other hand, is the old Sinhalese for 13 (*tera* or *teles* = 3 + 10). It was probably obsolete in general usage in Pyrard's time, for the common word, as he intimates in his note following the number "twelve" in the vocabulary, must have been the duodecimal *dolos-eke'*.

Whatever were the steps in the transition, the duodecimal system, based on the decimal words, attained its completion with some curious anomalies. The Maldivians were probably as unconscious that *dolos* was *do-laha* = 2 + 10, as are most Englishmen who use the word, that dozen is "duo-decim"; and they proceeded with their second dozen, *dolos-eke'*, *dolos-de'*, etc., just as we, if we were to adopt the same system, should probably say "dozen-one", "dozen-two", etc. The first anomaly comes at 24, which, if Sinhalese were followed, should be *visi-hatara;* the word used is *fassehe*, which is the Sin. *paswisi*, 25. The next comes at 48, for which *fanas* (Sin. *panas*, *i.e.*, two more than the actual four dozen) = 50, was forced to do duty. So, too, 72 is represented by *fahiti* (Sin. *paha-hetté* = 75, *i.e.*, three more than the actual six dozen), and 96 by *hiya*. (Sin. *siya* = 100, *i.e.*, four more than eight dozen). While thus 2, 4, 6, and 8 dozen are represented by the Sinhalese equivalents of numbers greater than these by 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively, the alternate dozens, 12, 36, 60, and 84 are represented by correct duodecimal words, *dolohe'* (twelve), *tin-dolos* (three dozen), *fas-dolos* (five dozen), and *had-dolos* (seven dozen). The best explanation of these anomalies which occurs to me is, that on the adoption of the duodecimal system, the decimal words for 100, and its quarterly subdivisions 25, 50, and 75, had obtained too strong a hold to be easily displaced, and were accordingly transferred to the next respective multiples of twelve. The larger numbers, *hás* (960 or 1,000 = Sin. *dása*) and *lakka*, which should be neither a million nor ten times 1,000, but 100,000, are necessarily somewhat indeterminate.

We now arrive at the third stage of the history of Maldive numerals. Modern commerce with the mainland of India, involving the greater use of accounts and written calculations, has, in quite modern times, caused a return to the decimal system. "The inconvenient duodecimal mode of numeration", says Mr. Bell—though I would point out that its inconvenience arose solely from the use by other nations of the decimal system—"was formerly exclusively used by the Maldivians; but though still in vogue here and there, it is gradually dying out, and rarely employed in business calculations. Beyond 10 a modified form of the Hindústáni decimal numeration is that in common use. Some confusion, however, arises from the co-existence of the two systems; thus, *fanas*

or *fansás* may be either 48 or 50; *hiya* or *satéka*, 96 or 100" (*The Maldive Islands*, p. 121).[1] The following list of the two sets of numbers, transcribed from a Maldive *tartib*, or commentary on the Kurán, is published by Mr. Bell in the *J. R. A. S.* (Ceylon Branch), vol. vii, pt. III, 1882:—.

Duodecimal.		Decimal.
1	*eke'*	*id.*
2	*de'*	
3	*tine'*	
4	*hatare'*	
5	*fahe*	
6	*haye'*	
7	*hate'*	
8	*arhe'*	
9	*nuvaye'*	
10	*dihaye'*	
11	*ekolohe'*	*egára*
12	*doloke'*	*bára*
13	*dolos-eke'*	*téra*
14	*etc.*	*sáuda*
15		*fanara*
16		*sólá*
17		*satára*
18		*arhára*
19		*ona-vihi*
20		*vihi*
21		*eka-vís*
22		*ba-vís*
23		*té-vís*
24	*fassehi*	*sau-vís*
25	*fassehi-eke'*	*fansa-vís*
26	*etc.*	*sab-bís*
27		*hata-vís*
28		*árhá-vís*
29		*ona-tiris*
30		*tirís*
31		*et-tiris*
32		*etc.*
33		
34		
35		
36	*tin-dolos*	
37	*tin-dolos-eke'*	

Duodecimal.		Decimal.
38	*etc.*	
39		*ona-sális*
40		*sális*
41		*ek-ális*
42		*etc.*
43		
44		
45		
46		
47		
48	*janas*	
49	*janas-eke'*	*ona-fansás*
50	*etc.*	*fansás*
51		*eká-vanna*
52		*etc.*
53		
54		
55		
56		
57		
58		
59		*ona-hatti*
60	*fasdolos*	*hatti*
61	*fasdolos-eke'*	*eká-hatti*
62	*etc.*	*etc.*
63		
64		
65		
66		
67		
68		
69		*ona-hattiri*
70		*hattiri*
71		*eká-hattiri*
72	*fáhiti*	*etc*
73	*fahiti-eke'*	
74	*etc.*	
75		

[1] When Mr. Bell says that the duodecimal system is rarely employed in business calculations, I take him to mean that this is so at business centres such as Málé. It is unlikely that the statement will hold good as to ordinary business among the islanders. A change of this magnitude is not likely to have fully developed in fifty years; and as to the state of things in 1835, we have to note that Christopher remarks, "They reckon by dozens as we do by tens" (*J. Bo. Geo. Soc.*, vol. i, p. 54), and makes no mention of a decimal system.

Duodecimal.		Decimal.
76		
77		
78		
79		*ona-áhi*
80		*áhi*
81		*ek-áhi*
82		*etc.*
83		
84	*had-dolos*	
85	*had-dolos-eke*	
86	*etc.*	
87		
88		

Duodecimal.		Decimal.
89		*o-navai*
90		*navai*
91		*eká-navai*
92		*etc.*
93		
94		
95		
96	*hiya*	
97		
98		
99		*ona-satta*
100		*satéka*

MALDIVE CHART.

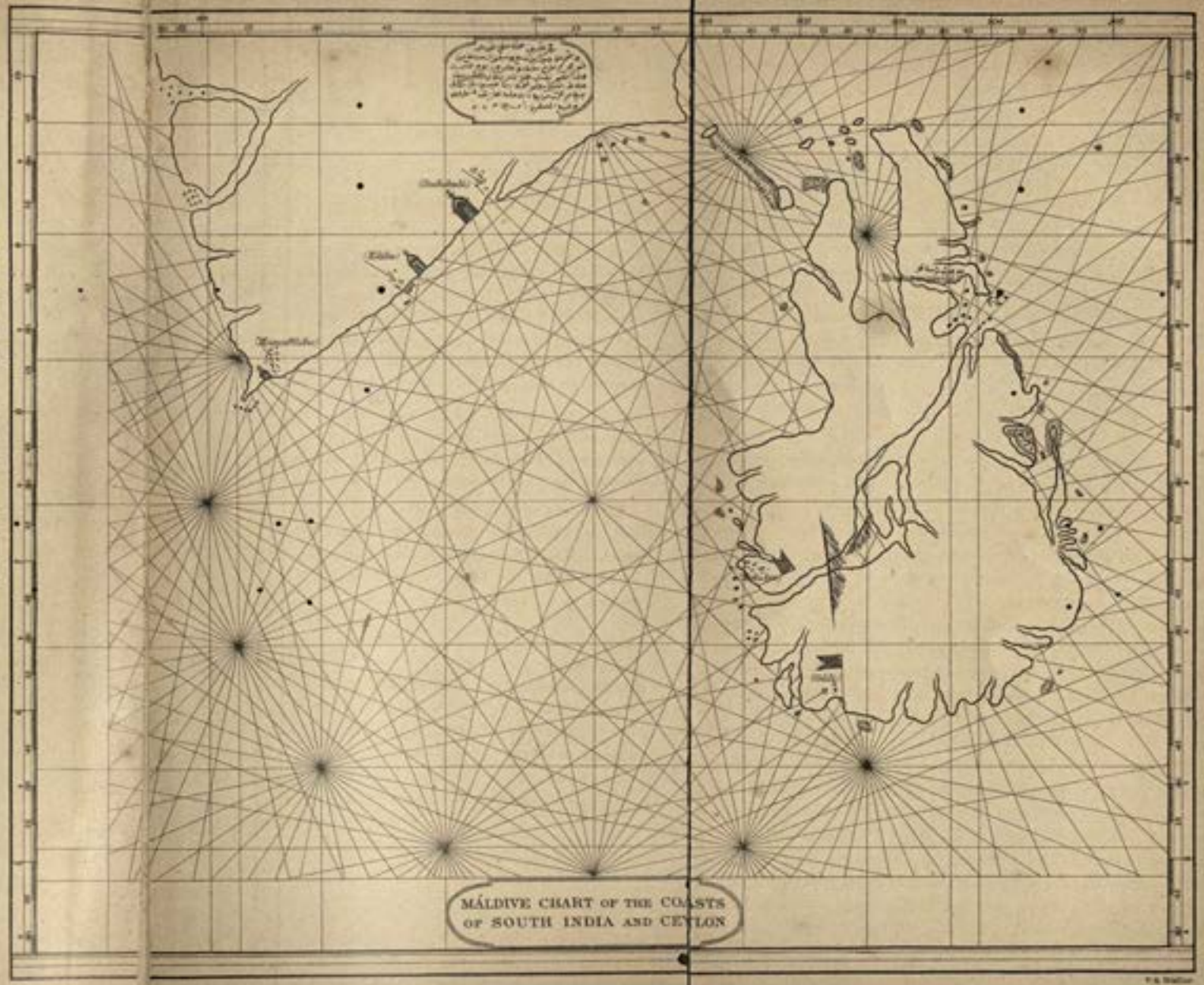
Superscription.—"At noon on Saturday, the 11th of the month of Muharram, of the year of our Lord (Muhammad) 1279 [A.D. 1862-3], this chart of the small island of Ceylon was drawn by the Málim Muhammad, son of Ísá, son of the Náibu Gaddámi Muhammad of Boli [*i.e.*, cowry] Mulaku. God forgive them and all Musalmáns!"

N.B.—Mr. Bell finds that the name *Gaddámi* is undoubtedly of English origin, and represents the gleanings of Anglo-Saxon speech picked up by Maldivians at the Indian ports.

The division of Ceylon by water is curious. Mr. Bell suggests that the Maldivians, finding a river-mouth at Colombo and another near Trincomalee, probably thought that Ceylon was intersected by a sea channel, such as divides their own atolls.

Ports named—

(India)	*Sudukuli*	= Túttukkudi or Tuticorin.
	Kásilu	= Káyal-pattanam.
	Manaffádu	= Manapádu or Manapar.
(Ceylon)	*Kálulu*	= Colombo.
	Gálí	= Galle.
	Tirukunnamala	= Tirukunnámalai or Trincomalee.



APPENDIX.

A.

EARLY NOTICES OF THE MALDIVES.

The race which now inhabits the Maldivian archipelago, and which has occupied it from the earliest times of which we have any record, is unquestionably of the same stock as the Sinhalese. This conclusion is borne out by evidence of language, physical traits, tradition, folk-lore, manners, and customs, which has been in part adduced or referred to in these volumes. It does not appear that the atolls were inhabited before they were colonised by the Sinhalese, no traces existing of any race, such as the Veddas of Ceylon, which the settlers may have conquered or gradually displaced; and the recognised admixture of foreign blood in the northern atolls being attributable to intercourse within the historical period with merchants from India and Arabia, and with negro slaves from Africa. While, as has been seen, the local tradition of Pyrard's time asserted a colonisation from Ceylon, it was silent as to any war accompanying the settlement, or any intermarriage of the conquerors with the daughters of the land.

The colonisation must be assigned to a period not anterior to that of Ceylon by the Sinhalese, an event which probably occurred about the fifth or sixth century B.C. It is improbable that the Maldives would have any attraction for the adventurers from Bengal at a time when the broad lands of Ceylon were still untilled, offering a more ample return to their enterprise than the tiny coral islets and lagoons of the West. On the other hand, it is more likely that the Maldives were discovered long after the settlement of Ceylon, and perhaps at first by some belated fishermen from Galle or elsewhere on the western coast. The first dis-

coverers would be able to return to their villages on the change of the monsoon, bearing the intelligence of this strange cluster of islands, which, though presenting no attractions of an agricultural character, had riches of its own in fish, tortoise-shell, cowries, and ambergris. For a considerable time, it may be that the Galle fishermen made annual voyages, and maintained a dual home. If they sojourned at the Maldives for the period of a monsoon, the transportation of wives and families, which would be a condition of the system, would eventually lead to a permanent settlement of some portion at least of the adventurers.

But whether we assume a single original occupation in force, or a gradual settlement such as is surmised above, we are met by an argument which seems to tell, if at all, in favour of the latter hypothesis. Neither the Mahavanso nor any other Sinhalese record as yet discovered throws any light upon the original occupation of the Maldives or upon the early relations of the Maldivians with their Sinhalese cousins.[1] If the conquest had been effected by any warlike operations, it is only likely that the credit would have been attributed to the Sinhalese king of the period. On the other hand, we can imagine the gradual progress of a fisher colony from occasional visits to a permanent settlement, and latterly to the status of a constitutional government. Nor, considering the distance of the atolls, the troubled condition of Ceylon arising from periodical invasion, and the bijou character of the new possession, need we feel any surprise that this distant colony was allowed to work out its destiny unaided or unchecked by Sinhalese proconsuls. The Maldive tradition, as recorded by Pyrard, was that the atolls were colonised from Ceylon some 400 years before his time, *i.e.*, about the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. No reliance can,

[1] "In the Sultan's palace at Málé is said to be preserved a national record styled *Tárikho* (Ar. *tárikh*) or *Muskuli foi*, in which all important events and matters of State have been faithfully noted for centuries in the old Maldive character (*dives akuru*), in Arabic, and in the modern native character (*gábali tana*)" (*Bell*, p. 41). These archives contain the list of the Sultans, which will be found on a subsequent page, but are believed to contain no information as to the pre-Mahommedan times.

however, be placed upon this traditional date, in the face of the evidence of Ibn Batuta, who, in the middle of the fourteenth century, found the present Maldivian race in full possession, with a well-developed and apparently ancient system of government. This traveller, as will be seen, while giving no traditional account of the colonisation, records as a historical fact that the islands were converted to Muhammadanism at a period synchronising with that assigned by Pyrard to the original settlement. The probability is that the present race were the first colonists, but if we are right in assuming that the Maldives were peopled by a gradual emigration of Sinhalese, it will be impossible to do more than approximately suggest the period at which the discovery was made; and that at which the Maldivians became independent of Ceylon in regard to population, government, and religion. Now, if the indications of Buddhism which are already described[1] are to be trusted—and I do not conceal my belief that an archæological survey of the Maldives will furnish further reliable evidences of the fact—we shall have to bear in mind that the Sinhalese themselves were only converted to Buddhism about the middle of the third century B.C. The conversion may have been rapid, but was probably not so rapid as the Sinhalese epics allege. If, therefore, the evidence justifies us in concluding that Buddhism flourished at the Maldives before the advent of Islam, either it was brought thither by the colonists, probably not before the first century B.C., or it was subsequently introduced by missionaries from Ceylon. If the latter had been the case, it would probably have been matter of record in the Sinhalese chronicles; and on this point, as has been said, the chronicles are silent. It is, therefore, safe to assume that the emigration was not concluded until after Ceylon was wholly converted, and that the Buddhist religion was part and parcel of the civilization conveyed by the colonists beyond the sea.

Of the notices extracted below, I do not myself regard any as furnishing clear proof of the peopling of the Maldives until we arrive at Suleiman, the Arab traveller of the ninth century. And if

[1] See vol. i, p. 123, *note*.

subsequent investigation of the islands leads to the discovery of Buddhist remains, the character of those remains may afford evidence that the colonisation took place so late perhaps as the fourth or fifth century A.D.

Periplus. 2. The author of the *Periplus* [A.D. 90?], in describing the trade of the Malabar coast, mentions "tortoise-shell, both that called *Chrysonesiotikè*, and the kind from the islands off Limurikè", the latter being the name given to Malabar, or a particular portion of it.

Ptolemy. 3. Ptolemy (*circa* A.D. 150) says:—"Over against Taprobane lie a multitude of islands, said to number 1,378. The following are some of the names given:—*Vangalia* (or *Vangana*), *Kanathra*, *Aigidion*, *Orneon*, *Monachè*, *Amminè*, *Garkos* (or *Karkos*), *Philikus* (or *Phelikus*), *Eirenè*, *Kalaiadua* (or *Kalandradrua*), *Abrana* (or *Arana*), *Bassa*, *Balaka*, *Alaba*, *Gumara*, *Zaba*, *Bizala* (or *Zibala*), *Nagadiba* (or *Nagadena*), and *Susuara*." The position assigned to the islands named shows that, according to his information, they lay round about Taprobane on all sides. Mr. Bell has bravely, and in some instances, I think, successfully, identified certain of these islands. In his view the list includes some of the group off the north-west coast of Ceylon, and some of the Laccadives, while none of the names can be satisfactorily assigned to the Maldives. The following suggestions have some appearance of probability:—Kanathra = Kavarathi; Aigidion = Agathi, or perhaps Angediva; Orneon = Underu; Monachè = Minikai; Amminè = Amini; Kalaiadua = Karativoe.

Ammianus Marcellinus. 4. Ammianus Marcellinus (A.D. 320-390) records that in the year 362, ambassadors came to the Emperor Julian from the *Divi* and the *Serendivi*. The passage[1] runs thus:—"Legationes undique solito ocius concurrebant; hinc Transtigritanis pacem obsecrantibus et Armeniis, inde nationibus Indicis certatim cum donis optimates mittentibus ante tempus, ab usque Divis et Serendivis." The name Serendivi—a form so similar to the *Serendib* of the long

[1] Lib. xxii, c. 3.

subsequent. Arab period—is linked to it by the intermediary *Sielediba* of Cosmas. The Serendivi were no doubt the Sinhalese. But whether the Divi (*Divi* = Mald. *divehi-mihun*), "the islanders" (see above, vol. i, p. 83), were the Laccadivians or the Maldivians, or both, or neither, must remain uncertain. Ammianus Marcellinus.

5. Moses Chorenensis, on the supposed information of one Pappus of Alexandria, writes[1]:—"Taprobane is the greatest of all islands . . . . it has also smaller islands round about it, to the number of 1,372." The number here is only six less than that given by Ptolemy, and is evidently a mere variation. Moses Chorenensis

6. Fáh Hian, the Chinese traveller, who visited Ceylon early in the fifth century, adds to his description of the island the following[2]:—"On every side are small islands, perhaps amounting to one hundred in number. They are distant from one another ten or twenty *li*, and as much as two hundred *li*. All of them depend on the great island. Most of them produce precious stones and pearls." This passage has been taken to refer to the Maldives, but the small number, the allusion to pearls, and the dependence upon Ceylon, would seem more applicable to the islands at the north and north-west of Ceylon, in the neighbourhood of the pearl fishery. Fáh Hian.

7. Cosmas the monk, surnamed Indicopleustes (A.D. 535-550), who himself visited Ceylon, "called *Sielediba* by the Indians, and *Taprobane* by the Greeks," adds to his description[3]: "Round about it are a number of small islands, in all of which you find fresh water and coco-nuts (*ἀργέλλια*; corruption of Skt. *nârikeli*, Pers. *nárgil*). These are almost all set close to one another." This is a clearer reference to the Maldives, being somewhat more characteristic, and, except as to the "round about it" correct. Cosmas.

[1] *Geographia*, 367, Whiston's edition, London, 1736.

[2] See Beal's *Buddhist Pilgrims*, London, 1869, 8vo.

[3] Montfaucon, *Collectio Nova Patrum, etc.*, vol. ii; and see extract in Yule's *Cathay*, p. clxvii.

Palladius.

8. Here may be entered a passage from the tract so-called of Palladius, *De Bragmanibus*, a work of uncertain date and origin. "This island (Taprobane) is the seat of the greatest Indian king, whom all the rest obey as satraps. So Scholasticus relates on the information of another, for he was not allowed himself to enter the island. Round about it (unless the report be false) lie a thousand other islands, through which the Red Sea flows. In these islands, which are called *Maniolæ*, the magnet-stone which attracts iron is produced; so that if any ship built with iron nails should approach these islands, it will by the virtue of this stone be drawn thither and stayed in its course. Wherefore those who sail to Taprobane employ ships built with wooden bolts specially for this voyage." This tract, though perhaps not genuine, is no doubt very ancient, and gives one of the earliest references to the ships of southern Asia built without the use of iron. This phenomenon had to be explained, and the fable of the magnetic rock served this purpose.

Suleiman.

9. The gap between Cosmas, the last of the classical authorities, in the sixth century, and the Arabs of the ninth, is still unbridged. In the collection of notes of Arabian travellers, published first by the Abbé Renaudot, and afterwards by Reinaud, occurs in the portion attributed to Suleiman a notice of the Sea of Herkend, which extended from the Díbaiat.[1] *i.e.*, the Maldives, to Sumatra[2]:—

"The third Sea bears the name of the *Sea of Herkend*. Between this sea and that called *Al-larevy* there are a vast number of islands, amounting, so it is said, to 1,900. These islands separate the two seas, *Al-larevy* and *Herkend*; they are governed by a woman.[3] The sea throws up on the shore of these islands big lumps of

[1] Divehi-raja, "the island kingdom", the Maldivians' own name for the islands.

[2] See Reinaud, *Relation des Voyages, etc.*, Paris, 1845, 12mo., pp. 4, 5.

[3] The Maldivians, like the Sinhalese, allowed females to succeed in default of male heirs. So far as is known, only three women have in fact ruled, but the phenomenon was so strange to the Arab traveller that he inferred a regular succession of females. It will be seen that Suleiman is followed by Mas'udi, and partly by Edrisi.

amber: some of these pieces have the form of a plant, or nearly so. Amber grows at the bottom of the sea like the plants; when the sea is much disturbed, it throws up the amber in pieces like pumpkins or truffles. Suleiman.

"These islands, which are governed by a woman, are planted with coco-trees. The distance separating the islands from one another is two, three, or four parasangs. They are all inhabited, and all produce coco-trees. Their money consists of cowries. The queen stores these cowries in her treasuries. It is said that no people are so adroit as the natives of these islands. They make tunics woven of a single web, with sleeves, ornaments, and borders. They build their ships and houses, and load them with their produce in like manner. The cowries come up to the surface of the water, and contain a living creature. A coco-tree branch is thrown into the water, and the cowries attach themselves to it. The cowry is called *Al Kabtadj*.

"The last of these islands is Serendib, in the Sea of Herkend; it is the chief of all. To these islands is given the name *Dîbajât*. Over against Serendib is the pearl fishery."

10. Abu'l Hasan Ali, called El Mas'udi, who himself visited Ceylon in A.D. 916, gives a detailed account of the Maldives[1]:— Mas'udi.

"Between the third sea, or that of Herkend, and the Sea of Lar, there are, as has been said, a great number of islands, forming, as it were, a separate group. There are counted of them 2,000, or more exactly, 1,900. They are all very well peopled, and are subject to a queen: for from the most ancient times the inhabitants have a rule never to allow themselves to be governed by a man. The amber (gris) found on these shores, thrown up by the sea, attains the size of large pieces of rock. Many navigators, and also the traders of Siraf and Oman, who have made the voyage to these islands, have assured me that the amber grows at the bottom of the sea, and is formed like the different kinds of white and black bitumen, as mushrooms and other substances of like sort. When

[1] *Les Prairies d'Or*, trad. par de Meynard et de Courteille, 2 vols. Paris, 1861; also in English, *Meadows of Gold*, by Sprenger (Or. Trans Fund), London, 1841.

Mas'udi. the sea is troubled, it throws up from its bosom fragments of rock and shingle, and at the same time pieces of amber. The inhabitants of these islands are all subject to one government. They are very numerous, and can put an innumerable army in the field. Each island is separated from its neighbour by a distance of a mile, or one, two, or three parasangs. Coco-nuts flourish there, but they have not the date palm."

[Here follows a discourse on the coco-tree.]

"To return to these islands: there are none whose natives are more skilful artisans, in the manufacture of stuffs, instruments, etc. The queen has no other money but cowries, which are a kind of molluscs. When she sees her treasure diminishing, she orders her islanders to cut coco-branches with their leaves, and to throw them upon the surface of the water. To these the creatures attach themselves, and are then collected and spread upon the sandy beach, where the sun rots them, and leaves only the empty shells, which are then carried to the treasury. From these islands, which are known by the name of *Dabiltat*,[1] a large quantity of *Zandj* or coco is exported."

Alberuni. 11. Alberuni[2] (A.D. 1030) classifies the islands of the ocean which stretches from Africa to China in three groups:—

"The eastern islands in this ocean, which are nearer to China than to India, are the islands of the *Zábaj*, called by the Hindus Suvarna-Dvîpa, that is, the gold islands. The western islands in this ocean are those of the *Zanj* (Negros), and those in the middle are the islands *Ramm* and the *Dîva* islands, to which belong also the *Kumair* islands. It is peculiar to the *Dîva* islands that they rise slowly: first there appears a sandy tract above the surface of the ocean; it rises more and more, and extends in all directions, till at last it becomes a firm soil, whilst at the same time another island falls into decay and melts away, finally is submerged, and disappears in the ocean. As soon as the inhabitants become aware of this process, they search for a new island of increasing fertility, transport there their coco-nut palms, date palms, cereals, and

[1] More probably *Dîbajât*.

[2] *Alberuni's India*, by Dr. Edward C. Sachau (Trübner's Or. Series), London, 1888, 2 vols.

household goods, and emigrate to it. These islands are, according to their products, divided into two classes—the *Dîva Kûdha*,[1] the islands of cowries, because there they gather cowries from the branches of the coco-nut palms, which they plant in the sea; and *Dîva-Kanbâr*,[2] the islands of the cords twisted from coco-nut fibre, and used for fastening together the planks of their ships." Alberuni.

This is a very accurate description of the Maldives and Laccadives, the groups being distinguished by their chief exports.

12. Our next authority is Edrisi [A.D. 1099-1186] His account, which is altogether compiled from previous authorities and the information of others, is as follows[3]:— Edrisi.

"To this section belong the islands indicated in their place, amongst others, those called *El Roïbahat* [read *Dîbajât*], which are very close to one another, and innumerable. The greater part of these islands are desert. The largest of them, however, which is called *Anberia*, is flourishing and peopled with a great number of inhabitants, who cultivate both it and the neighbouring islands, *El Comor*. All the inhabitants of these islands are subject to a chief, who convokes them, and protects and defends them to the best of his power. His wife administers justice, and speaks in public unveiled, after an established custom from which they never vary. The name of this queen is *Demhera*; she wears for ornaments a robe of gold tissue, and on her head a crown of the same metal, enriched with pearls and precious stones. She wears gold slippers, such as none other may use under pain of having their feet cut off. This queen, on solemn feasts and other great occasions, appears in public, along with her maids of honour, with a great array of elephants, trumpets, and flags. Her husband and the viziers follow her at a certain distance. This queen has wealth deposited in cellars, to be distributed in due course to the poor of her dominions. No

[1] Or *Kaudha*, cf. Hind. *Kaudí*, *Kaurí*. This passage is referred to above, vol. i, p. 237, but there the word is misprinted *Kandha*.

[2] This form, which appears also in Ibn Batutá and other Arab writers, is considered by Col. Yule (*Gloss.*, s. v. Coir) to arise from some misreading of the Indian term, Malayâl. *Káyar*. The explanation is correct, *Káyar* being from *Kayaru*, to be twisted.

[3] *Géographie d'Edrisi*, par P. A. Joubert, 2 vols., Paris, 1836.

Edrisi. distribution of alms is made but in her presence and under her eye. The inhabitants of the country suspend silk stuffs along her path, and at places which she is to pass, for she keeps up great state, as we have explained. The king and queen of these islands reside at *Anberia*.

"The principal production of these islands is the tortoise-shell called *zabl*,[1] which can be parted into seven pieces, of which four weigh a *mina*, that is, 260 drachmas. The heaviest weigh half a mina each. With these shells are made divers ornaments for the women's dress, also combs, seeing that it is thick, transparent, and very varied in colour.

"The women of this island wear the head uncovered and the hair plaited, and each of them uses ten combs (more or less) in her hair; it is their principal adornment, as with the women of *El Sahab*, whose inhabitants are without religious belief, as we shall tell hereafter.

"The islands known by the name *El Kouoanat* [*Diwajat*] are peopled. They cultivate there the coco-tree and the sugar-cane. Commerce is carried on by means of shells. They are distant from one another about six miles. Their king preserves these shells in his treasury, and he possesses the greater portion of them. The inhabitants are industrious, adroit, and intelligent. They manufacture wide tunics, open at the neck and supplied with pockets. They build ships with very slender timber. Their houses and other important buildings are of very durable stone; but they also employ, in the construction of their dwellings, timber which comes over sea, and also scented woods. They say that the shells which compose the royal treasure are found on the surface of the water in calm weather. They throw into the sea pieces of coco-wood, and the shell-fish attach themselves thereto. They are called *El Kendj* [probably *Kaudha*]. In some of the islands is found a substance resembling liquid pitch-resin, which burns the fish at the bottom of the sea and is extinguished at the surface. The last of these islands is over against Serendib on its most northern side, in a sea called *Herkend*."

[1] Mald. *Kahabu*, tortoise-shell.

13. Marco Polo does not speak of the Maldives by name, but the number which he assigns to the Indian islands collectively is evidently a mere variant of the Maldivians' traditional number of their own islands, of which Polo must have heard on the Malabar coast. Comparing Polo's few lines, and the equally vague notices of John of Montecorvino, and Friar Jordanus (given below), with the accounts of Mas'udi and Edrisi, we see that while the knowledge of the Maldives attained by the Arab geographers and travellers had long been circumstantial, if not correct, that of the Christian travellers of this period showed no advance upon the information of Ptolemy. Marco Polo.

The passage from Polo[1] runs as follows:—

"You must understand that, in speaking of the Indian Islands, we have described only the most noble provinces and kingdoms among them; for no man on earth could give you a true account of the whole of the Islands of India. Still, what I have described are the best, and as it were the Flower of the Indies. For the greater part of the other Indian Islands that I have omitted are subject to those that I have described. It is a fact that in this Sea of India there are 12,700 Islands, inhabited and uninhabited, according to the charts and documents of experienced mariners who navigate the Indian Sea."

14. John of Montecorvino, in a letter dated 22 Dec. (?) 1292, writes[2]:— John of Montecorvino.

"The state of things in regard to the Sea of India is this. . . . Traversing it towards the South there is no continent found but islands alone, but in that sea the islands are many, more than 12,000 in number. And many of these are inhabited, and many are not. You can sail (upon that sea) between these islands and Ormes, and (from Ormes) to those parts which are called Minibar is a distance of 2,000 miles in a direction between south and south-east," etc.

The latter portion of this passage is somewhat obscure, and the

[1] Book III, ch. xxxiv.

[2] For particulars of this traveller and the context, see Yule's *Cathay, etc.*, p. 215.

John of Montecorvino.

extract is of no value except as giving fresh currency to the traditional Maldive number, 12,000.

Prince Hayton.

15. In the geographical work of Prince Hayton, the Armenian,[1] dictated to Nicholas Faulcon in 1307, occurs the following dubious reference to the Maldives:—

"To the south the Ocean extends a great way, and there is found therein a quantity of islands, whose inhabitants are black. They go naked by reason of the heat, and in their folly worship idols. In these islands are found precious stones, pearls, gold, and many kinds of simples useful in medicine to the human race. In this region also is situate an island called *Celan*," etc.

Friar Jordanus.

16. Friar Jordanus,[2] who visited the east twice, viz., in 1321-3, and again, after 1330, is as vague as the early classical geographers:—

"In this India be many islands, and more than 10,000 of them inhabited, as I have heard; wherein are many world's wonders. For there is one called *Silem* (Ceylon), where are found the best precious stones in the whole world, and in the greatest quantity and number, and of all kinds."

Ibn Batuta.

17. With Abú Abd-Allah Muhammad, commonly called Ibn Batuta, the Moor of Tangier, we arrive at more interesting material. This prince of travellers was born at Tangier in 1304, and died at Fez in 1377. At the age of twenty he set out on his travels of thirty years, during which every part of the known East was explored. The following is a summary of his routes[3]:—

"From Tangier he travelled across Africa to Alexandra, and in Palestine, Syria, and Arabia: down to the east coast of Africa to Quiloa: across the Indian Ocean to Muscat, Ormuz, Kish, Bahrein and El Catif: through Central Arabia to Mecca and Jedda: and again in Egypt and Asia Minor, and across the

[1] Comprised in *Recueil des divers Voyages Curieux*, Leyden, Vander Aa, 1729.

[2] *Friar Jordanus*, by Yule (Hak. Soc.), p. 28.

[3] Abridged by Dr. Birdwood, in his *Report on the Misc. Old Records in the India Office*, from Yule's *Cathay*.

Black Sea to Caffa or Theodosia, and by Azov or Tana 'on past the hills of the Russians' to Bolgar on the Volga—but not daring to penetrate further northwards into 'the land of Darkness'. Returning south to Haj-Tarkhan (Astrakhan) he proceeded in the suite of the wife of the Khan of Kipchak, the daughter of the Greek Emperor Andronicus, westward to Soldaia and Constantiniah (Constantinople), whence returning to Bolgar he travelled on eastward to Bokhara, and through Khorassan to Cabul, Multan, and Delhi, where he remained eight years (1334-42). Being sent on an embassy to China, he embarked at Kinbaiat (Cambay), and after many adventures at Calicut (where he was honourably received by the 'Samari' or Zamorin) and Hunawar (Onore), at the Maldive Islands, and in Ceylon and Bengal, he at last took his passage toward China in a junk bound for Java, as he calls it, but in fact Sumatra. Returning from China he sailed direct from the coast of Malabar to Muscat and Ormuz: and travelling by Shiraz, Bagdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and for the fourth time to Mecca, Egypt, Tunis, at last reached Fez again, after an absence of half his life-time. Subsequently he spent six years in Spain, and Central Africa, where he was the guest of the brother of a countryman of his own from Ceuta, whose guest he had been in China. 'What an enormous distance lay between these two?' he exclaims." Ibn Batuta.

Ibn Batuta visited the Maldives out of pure curiosity. He found himself, as he frequently did, quite at home among a Mahommedan people, and was pressed into their service as *kází*. After a year-and-a-half at the Islands he crossed over to Ceylon, and thence to the Coromandel coast, whence, two years later, he returned to the Maldives to see a son who had been born to him after his departure. With perfect nonchalance he satisfies his sense of parental duty by a mere sight of his child, whose welfare he consults by leaving him with his mother, and proceeds to Bengal, concious that he will never see the boy again.

His first visit to the Maldives extended from the beginning of 1343 to the middle of 1344; his second took place about the end of 1346.

Nothing seems to have been known in Europe of Ibn Batuta

Ibn Batuta. till the end of last century, when a copy of the work was obtained at Fez. At the beginning of this century a MS. was brought from the East, of which an abstract in Latin was published at Jena in 1818 by Kosegarten. An incomplete Portuguese translation of the Fez MS. was issued by Moura in 1845. Dr. Lee's translation (*Or. Trans. Fund*) was made from a short abridgment brought from the East by Burckhardt. On the French conquest of Algeria many texts were acquired, of which five are in the National Library at Paris. These have been collated in the edition of MM. Defrémery and Sanguinetti (4 vols., Paris, 1st edit., 1853-9; 2nd edit., 1879), which is accompanied by a French translation, but with very inadequate notes. Other abridgments and extracts have been published in divers languages, for particulars of which the reader is referred to Col. Yule's *Cathay*, p. 430. The passages dealing with the Maldives, which are given below, it is hoped, are fairly expressive of the author's narrative; but it may be feared that certain of the Maldive names have been distorted by copyists, and I trust that the MSS. at Paris may some time or other be examined by some one competent to select the truest readings.

Ibn Batuta's account of the Maldives and his residence there is as follows[1]:—

"I resolved to go to the *Dhîbat Almahal*, of which I had heard much. Ten days after we had embarked at Calicut we arrived at the *Dhîbat Almahal* islands. *Dhîbat* is pronounced as the feminine of *Dhîb*.[2] These islands are among the wonders of the world: they number about 2,000.[3] A hundred or less of these islands lie together in a circle in the form of a ring: the group has an entrance as to a harbour, and ships get through by that alone. When a ship arrives near one of these islands it must of necessity have a pilot from among its natives, so that it may reach the other islands under his guidance. They are so close to

[1] *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, par C. Defrémery et le Dr. B. R. Sanguinetti, 2nd edit., tom. iv, pp. 110-85, 191-2, 205-6, 207-10.

[2] Arabic for "wolf". It is really, of course, from the Sansk. *dvîpa*, "island".

[3] *V. s.*, vol. i, p. 95.

each other that the tops of the palms which grow on one seem to belong to its neighbour.[1] If the vessel misses its way it cannot reach the islands, and is driven by the wind to *Ma'bar*[2] or towards Ceylon. Ibn Batuta.

"All the inhabitants of these islands are Musalmáns, pious and honest people. They are divided into regions or zones, each of which is ruled by a governor called *Kordúi*.[3] Among these zones the following are distinguished: 1st, the zone of *Bálibúr;* 2nd, *Kannalús;* 3rd, *Mahal*, the province after which all the islands are called, and at which their sovereigns reside; 4th, *Tíládíb;* 5th, *Kúráidú;* 6th, *Tím;* 7th, *Tíladummati;* 8th, *Haladummati*, a name differing from the preceding only by having for its first letter an *h*; 9th, *Baraidú;* 10th, *Kandakal;* 11th, *Molúk;* 12th, *Suwaid.* The last is the most distant of all.[4] All the Maldive

[1] So, too, more recent travellers:—"The Malabares say that heretofore they were joyn'd to the Continent, and were separated by the sea, which in some places hath left such narrow divisions that an active man might leap from one side to the other" (Mandelslo's *Travels into the Indies*, 1639, lib. ii, 116; London, 1662). "But that which makes them so numerous is the multitudes of canals that divide them; which are so narrow that the sprit-sails of the ships strike the leaves of the trees which are planted on both sides. And in some places a nimble man may leap into an island from the top of a bough that grows in another" (*Collection of Voyages of the Dutch East-India Company*, p. 131; London, 1703).

[2] Coast of Coromandel.

[3] Below, p. 443, written (probably more correctly) *Korduvéri*, though I suspect that in neither place has the best reading been given. The governor of an atoll is styled *Atolu-veri* or *Váru-veri*: the head-man of an island is *Rarku-veri*.

[4] On comparison of this list of the provinces or administrative atolls with that of Pyrard at vol. i, p. 99, and with the more correct names at p. 97, *note*, some difficulties present themselves. The first observation to be made is that Ibn Batuta names twelve only, while the full number is thirteen. He does not, however, intimate that his list is complete. From his closing his list with places most distant toward the South, he might seem to be naming the atolls in order from the North; but as the most northern atoll, *Tíladummati*, comes only seventh in his list, it follows that the order of names, except in the case of the last, will not avail us in the process of identification. Coming now to the names themselves, we find only four to correspond palpably with the

Ibn Batuta. islands are destitute of grain, except that in the province of *Suwaid* there is a cereal like the *anly*, which is brought thence to *Mahal*.[1] The food of the natives consists of fish like the *lyroûn*, which they

atolls as named in later days, viz., *Mahal* (Málé), *Tiládummáti* (Tiladummati), *Molúk* (Mulaku), and *Suwaid* (Huvadu or Suadiva). Next we may observe that the Moorish traveller gives to his zones or provinces the names of particular islands. Thus *Kannalús*, the second province, is the island at which he lands on both his visits to the Maldives (see below), and may be identified with *Kinalos* in Málosmadulu atoll. *Karáidú* may be clearly identified as *Kárhidu* (the Cardiva of our charts), the large solitary island which gives its name to the channel north of the Málé atolls. *Tím*, which he visited after leaving *Kannalús*, and before reaching Málé, would seem to be *Utimu* in Tiladummati atoll, the *Oteeim* of the charts; but as to this two difficulties suggest themselves—(i) that it lies far to the north of Kinalos, and would not be taken on the way to Málé; (ii) that the atoll Tiladummati, in which it is, has already been named. *Kandakal*, the *Kaindecolu* of our charts, is Kedikolu in Miladummodulu atoll. There now remain the provinces named *Bálibúr*, *Tiládíb*, *Haladummati*, and *Baraidú*. The third of these has been, I think, satisfactorily identified by Mr. Bell with Haddummati, the first syllable being a contraction of Sin. *hela*, "white". In confirmation it may be noted that this province was, during Ibn Batuta's visit, assigned as a place of exile, and we know from Pyrard that the southern atolls were always used as penal settlements. *Bálibúr* has been identified by the French editors with *Fadiffolu* (the *Padyfolo* of Pyrard), and *Baraidú* with *Fulidu* (Pyrard's *Poulisdous*); but possibly better readings may produce more satisfactory conclusions. *Tíladíb* may perhaps be miscopied for *Níladíb*, and if this reading be adopted, the atoll intended to be referred to is probably *Nilandú*.

Even if Ibn Batuta is mistaken in attributing the names *Kannalús*, *Kandakal* and *Tím* to atolls, he has probably named the most important islands in the atolls to which they belonged. In the earliest European maps of the sixteenth century these names appear against the Maldive atolls (see the *mappe monde* of Henry II of France, *circa* 1555, figured in the *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th edition, art. "Maldives"), but whether intended for atolls or islands is uncertain. It is difficult to say where the early European cosmographers got the Maldive names, though it is possible that Ibn Batuta's book may have been known in Spain and Portugal.

[1] Either the fine grain known to the Sinhalese as *tana hál* (*Setaria Italica*), M. *urá*, or *menéri* (*Panicum miliaceum*), M. *kudibai*—both of which are found on the southern atolls. Some nacheri or *kurakkan* (*Cynosurus corocanus*), M. *bimbi*, is grown on the northern atolls.

call *kulb almás*. Its flesh is red; it has no grease, but its smell resembles that of mutton. When caught at the fishing, each fish is cut up into four pieces, and then slightly cooked: it is then placed in baskets of coco leaves and suspended in smoke. It is eaten when perfectly dry. From this country it is exported to India, China, and Yemen. It is called *kulb almás*.[1] Ibn Batuta.

"*The Trees of the Maldives.*—Most of the trees on these islands are coconuts: they furnish the food of the inhabitants along with the fish, of which mention has been made. The nature of the coconut is marvellous. Each of these palms produces annually twelve crops, one a month. Some are small, others large: many are yellow; the rest are green, and remain always so. From the fruit are obtained milk, oil, and honey, as we have said in the first part of this book. With the honey is made pastry, which they eat with the dried coconut. All the food made from the coconut, and the fish eaten at the same time, effect an extraordinary and unequalled vigour in manhood. In this matter the inhabitants of the islands accomplish astonishing feats. As for me, I had in that country four legitimate wives, besides concubines. I visited them all every day, and spent the night with each in turn. I continued this course of life during the year and a half that I spent at the Maldives.

"Among the remarkable trees of these islands are the *jumún*,[2] the lemon, the lime, and the colocasia. From the root of the last named, the natives prepare a flour with which they make a kind of vermicelli, and this they cook in coco-milk; it is one of the most agreeable dishes in the world. I had a great taste for it and ate it often.[3]

"*Of the Inhabitants of these Islands and some of their Customs: Description of their Dwellings.*—The inhabitants of the Maldive islands are honest and pious people, sincere in good faith and of a strong will: they eat only what is lawful, and their prayers are granted. When one of them meets another, he says, 'God is my lord: Muhammad is my prophet: I am a poor ignorant being.' In body they are weak and have no aptitude for combat or for war

[1] M. *kalu-bili-mas.*; *v. s.*, vol. i, p. 190.
[2] *Eugenia Jambu.* [3] *V. s.*, vol. i, p. 111.

Ibn Batuta. and their arms are prayers. One day in that country, I ordered the right hand of a robber to be cut off; whereupon many of the natives in the audience-hall fainted away. The Indian pirates do not attack them, and cause them no alarm, for they have found that whoever takes anything of theirs is struck with a sudden calamity. When a hostile fleet comes to their shores, the marauders seize what strangers they find, but do no harm to the natives. If an idolater appropriates anything, if it be but a lime, the captain of the idolaters punishes him and beats him severely, so much does he fear the results of such an action. Were it otherwise, certainly these people would be a most contemptible foe in the eyes of their enemies, because of the weakness of their bodies. In each of their islands there are fine mosques, and most of their buildings are of wood.

"The islanders are good people: they abstain from what is foul, and most of them bathe twice a day, and properly too, on account of the extreme heat of the climate and the abundance of perspiration. They use a large quantity of scented oils, such as sandal-wood oil, etc., and they anoint themselves with musk from *Makdashau*.[1] It is one of their customs, when they have said the morning prayer, for every woman to go to meet her husband or son with the collyrium box, rose-water, and musk oil. He smears his eye-lashes with collyrium, and rubs himself with rose-water and musk oil, and so polishes the skin and removes from his face all trace of fatigue.

"The clothing of these people consists of cloths. They wrap one round their loins in place of drawers, while on their backs they wear the stuffs called *wilyán*,[2] which resemble the *iḥrám*. Some wear the turban, others supply its place with a little kerchief. When any one meets the *Kázi*, or the preacher, he takes his garment off his shoulders, and uncovers his back, and so accom-

[1] *Makdishu* or *Magadoxo*, on the Zanzibar coast, which Ibn Batuta had visited (tome ii, 181).

[2] A probable corruption of M. *jēluya* (cf. Sin. *pilu*, "clothes"), the term for the waist-cloth worn by Maldivian women commonly, and by soldiers on special occasions. The Maldive equivalent for the *iḥrám*, the attire of the Muhammadan pilgrims, is known as *digu libáš*

panies the functionary, till he arrives at his place of abode. Ibn Batuta. Another of their customs is this. When one of them marries, and goes to the house of his wife, she spreads cotton-cloths from th house-door to that of the nuptial chamber: on these cloths sh places handfuls of cowries on the right and left of the path he has to follow, while she herself stands awaiting him at the door of the apartment. On his arrival she throws over his feet a cloth which his attendants take up. If it be the wife[1] who goes to the husband's house, that house is hung with cloths, and cowries are placed thereon; and the woman on her arrival throws the cloth over his feet. And this is also the custom of the islanders when they salute the sovereign; they must without fail be provided with a piece of cloth to cast down at the right moment,[2] as we shall hereafter describe.

"Their buildings are of wood,[3] and they take care to raise the floor of their houses some height above the ground, by way of precaution against damp, owing to the humidity of the soil. This is the method they adopt: they dress the stones, each of which is of two or three cubits long, and place them in piles; across these they lay beams of the coco-tree, and afterwards raise the walls with boards.' In this work they show marvellous skill. In the vestibule of the house they construct an apartment which they call *málam*[4], and there the master of the house sits with his friends.

[1] It appears from this passage that the two kinds of Sinhalese marriage, *bina* and *diga*, were in vogue at the Maldives. Both forms are said to be recognised still. A *bina* marriage takes place when the bride has a house and lands of her own. The bridegroom is conducted to her house, which becomes the domicile of the couple. In Ceylon, a *bina* wife had, and still has, a position of much freedom and dignity; she is mistress of the situation, and formerly could turn her husband out of doors at any time and in any weather. Thus, according to a Sinhalese proverbial saying, the whole "kit" of a *bina* husband consists of a *talipat*, a *chule*, and a lime—the talipat, or umbrella, to protect him from the rain, the chule, or torch, to light him on his way, and the lime-juice to protect his body from the leeches. In a *diga* marriage, on the other hand, the husband, being owner of house and lands, is master of his wife also.

[2] Cf. vol. i, p. 57.

[3] *V. s.*, vol. i, p. 118.

[4] This term does not seem to survive.

Ibn Batuta. This room has two doors, one opening on the vestibule, by which strangers are introduced, the other on the side of the house by which the owner enters. Near the room in question is a jar full of water, a bowl called *walendj*,[1] made of the coconut-shell. It has a handle of [only] two cubits, wherewith to draw the water from the wells, by reason of their little depth.

"All the inhabitants of the Maldives, be they nobles or the common folk, keep their feet bare. The streets are swept and well kept; they are shaded by trees, and the passenger walks as it were in an orchard. Albeit every person who enters a house is obliged to wash his feet with water from the jar placed near the *málam*, and rub them with a coarse fabric of *líf*[2] placed there, after which he enters the house. Every person entering a mosque does the same. It is a custom of the natives when a vessel arrives for the *kanádir*,[3] *i.e.*, the little boats, to go out to meet it, manned by the people of the island, and bearing some betel and *karanba*,[4] that is to say, green coconuts. Each presents some of these to whom he will of those on board the ship, and then becomes his host, carrying to his own house the goods belonging to him, as if he were one of his near relations. Any new-comer who wishes to marry is at liberty to do so. When the time comes for his departure he repudiates his wife, for the people of the Maldives do not leave their country. As for a man who does not marry, the woman of the house in which he is lodged prepares his food, serves it, and supplies him with provisions for his journey when he goes. In return she is content to receive from him a very small present. The revenue of the treasury, which is called

[1] The M. for these coconut bowls with long handles is *dáni* (as to *walendj*, cf. Sin. *valanda*, "chatty"). They are regularly used by the islanders for drawing water. The ordinary coconut ladle or spoon they call *uduli*.

[2] Persian for the *stipulæ* which envelope the base of the stalks of the date-palm leaves. Egyptian *loofahs* (the same word) are now sold in England for bath use.

[3] Plural of *kundura*. The old Portuguese historians speak of Maldive *gundras*, and the Sinhalese still call a Maldive boat *gundara*, and the Maldivians themselves *gundara-kárayó*, the "gundara-men".

[4] M. *kuruba*; S. *kurumba*.

bandar,[1] consists in the right of buying a certain portion of all cargo on board ship, at a fixed price, whether the commodity be worth just that or more; this is called the *bandar* law.[2] The *bandar* has in each island a house of wood, called *badjansár*,[3] where the governor, the *korduvéri*,[4] collects all such goods; he sells or barters them. The natives buy with chickens any pottery which may be brought; a pot fetches five or six chickens. Ibn Batuta.

"Ships export from the islands the fish of which I have spoken, coconuts, fabrics, the *wiliyán*, and turbans; these last are of cotton. They export also vessels of copper,[5] which are very common there, cowries (*wada'*),[6] and coir (*kanbar*); such is the name of the fibrous husk which envelopes the coconut. The natives make it undergo a preparation in pits dug near the shore; then they beat it with picks, after which the women work it into rope. This

[1] Pers. *bandar*, a landing-place or quay; a harbour; a seaport: probably connected with *bund* (Hind. *band*), an embankment. In the sense of quay we have the well-known *Apollo Bunder* of Bombay; in that of seaport, *Bunder Abbas* in the Persian Gulf. The meaning given in the text, *i.e.*, treasury, is probably derivative, the custom-house being usually at the quay-side; if it is not so to be explained, we might be led to derive it directly from the Sansk. *bhaṇḍára*, "treasury". Ibn Batuta, however, subsequently uses the word with respect to Chilaw in Ceylon, which he calls *Bandar Seluát*, probably implying only that the place was a seaport.

[2] The system of raising revenue here described was in force in Pyrard's day, and is so still (see vol. i, p. 228). It seems to be identical in principle with the "culture system", employed by the Dutch in Java, where it is supposed to have been invented by one of the Dutch governors subsequent to the English occupation.

[3] Now called *váru-gé* (see vol. i, p. 213, *note*). *Bajansár* (for *bagansár*) is evidently a form of the well-known word *bankshall*, as it is called in Anglo-Indian talk. See above, vol. i, p. 85; vol. ii, p. 48.

[4] Above spelt *kordúi*.

[5] It is hard to believe that "vessels of copper" ever formed one of the genuine exports from the Maldives. A few old copper pots are occasionally sent over to Ceylon for repair.

[6] Evidently an Arabic corruption of Sansk. *Kavaḍi*; cf. Sin. *Kavaḍiyā*. The *Kabtadj* of Suleiman (*v. s.*, p. 428), and the *Kendj* of Edrisi (p. 431), are to be similarly explained. The Sansk. *Kavaḍi* becomes in Hind. *Kaudi* or *Kauri*, hence our "cowry".

Ibn Batuta. cordage is used for joining the boards of their ships, and is also exported to China, India, and Yemen. *Kanbar* rope is worth more than hemp. With this cord the (timbers of) ships are joined in India and Yemen, for the Indian sea is full of rocks, and if a ship joined with iron bolts strikes a rock, it is broken up; but when it is fastened with this cord it has elasticity, and does not break.

"The money of the islanders consist of *wada'*. This is the name of a mollusc, collected in the sea and placed in pits dug out on the beach. Its flesh decays and only the white shell remains. A hundred of them is called *siya*, and 700 *fál*; 12,000 are called *kótta*, and 100,000 *bostú*.[1] Bargains are struck through the medium of these shells, at the rate of four *bostú* to a dînâr of gold. Often they are of less value, such as twelve *bostú* to a dínár. The islanders sell them for rice to the people of Bengal, where also they are used for money. They are sold in the same way to the people of Yemen, who use them for ballast in their ships in place of sand. These shells serve also as a medium of exchange with the negroes[2] in their native country. I have seen them sold, at *Máli* and at *Júju*,[3] at the rate of 1,150 to a dînâr.

"*The Women of the Maldives.*—The women of these islands do not cover the head: the sovereign herself does not so. They comb their hair and tie it up on one side.[4] Most of them wear only a cloth, covering them from the navel to the ground: the rest of the body remains uncovered. Thus attired, they promenade the markets and elsewhere. While I was invested with the dignity of Kází in these islands, I made efforts to put an end to this custom, and to compel the women to clothe themselves: but I

[1] *Siya* = M. *hiya*, Sin. *siya*, 100. *Fál* = M. *fálé*, *fá*, or *fara*, Sin. *para*, a bushel. *Cotta* = M. *kottê*; cf. Tam. *kaddu*, a bundle. *Bostú* = M. *bastá*, Pers. *bastá*, a bag or sack. Cowries are still sold in the Islands by the *hiya* = 96 or 100, the *falé* = 1,000, and the *kotté* = 12,000 (*bára-fá*).

[2] In later days they were used in exchange *for* the poor negroes; *see* vol. i, p. 238, *note*.

[3] Two places in the Soudan, afterwards visited by the traveller.

[4] Pyrard, on the contrary (vol. i, p. 108), mentions that this style distinguishes the men.

could not succeed. No woman was admitted to my presence in the trial of a case, unless she had her whole body covered: but, beyond that, I had no power over the usage.[1] Some women wear, besides the cloth, chemises with short and full sleeves. I had some young female slaves whose dress was the same as that of the women of Delhi. These girls covered the head: but that disfigured rather than embellished their appearance, as they were not used to it. Ibn Batuta.

"The ornaments of the Maldive women consist of bracelets: each has a certain number on both arms, indeed, so that the whole of the arm from the wrist to the elbow is covered. These trinkets are of silver; only the wives of the Sultan and his nearest relatives wear bracelets of gold. The Maldive women have also anklets, called by them *bâil*,[2] and collars of gold round the neck, called *basdarad*.[3] One of their curious customs is to engage themselves as house servants, in consideration of a fixed sum, which does not exceed five pieces of gold. Their board is at the expense of those who hire them. They do not regard this as a disgrace, and most of the daughters of the inhabitants do it. You will find in the house of a rich man ten or twenty of them. The cost of all dishes broken by one of these maids is charged against her. When she wishes to go from one house to another, her new masters give her the amount of her debt, which she pays to the people of the house she is leaving; her new masters thenceforward become her creditors.[4] The principal occupation of these hired women is to twist the *kanbar*.

"It is easy to get married in these islands, owing to the smallness of the dowry, as well as by reason of the agreeable society of the women. Most of them say nothing about a nuptial gift, contenting themselves with declaring their profession of the Musalmán

[1] Pyrard (vol. i, p. 109) says that all women in his time carefully kept the breasts covered. It is still customary for the women in the remoter parts of Ceylon to go about their villages clothed only from the waist downwards.

[2] The mod. M. for anklet is *takaholi*.

[3] The mod. M. is *fattaru*.

[4] See Pyrard's account of this institution, vol. i, pp. 202-4.

Ibn Batuta. faith, and a nuptial gift in conformity to the law is given. When foreign ships arrive there the crews take wives, whom they repudiate on their departure; it is a kind of temporary marriage. The Maldive women never leave their country. I have not seen in the whole world any women whose society is more agreeable. Among the islanders, the wife entrusts to no one the care of her husband's service; she it is who brings him his food, takes away when he has eaten, washes his hands, presents the water for his ablutions, and covers his feet when he wills to go to sleep. It is one of their customs that the wife never eats with her husband, and he does not even know what she eats. I married many wives in that country: some ate with me at my request, others did not; and I could not succeed in seeing these take their food, and no trick on my part to get a sight was of any avail.

"*The story of the motive for the conversion of the Inhabitants of these Islands to Islám: Description of the Evil Spirits who formerly wrought them harm every month.*—Trustworthy men among the inhabitants, such as the lawyer *'Iça al-Yamaní*,[1] the lawyer and schoolmaster *'Ali*, the Kází *'Abd Allah*, and others, related to me that the people of these islands used to be idolaters; and that there appeared to them every month an evil spirit, one of the Jinn, who came from the direction of the sea. He resembled a ship full of lamps. The custom of the natives, as soon as they perceived him, was to take a young virgin, to adorn her, and to conduct her to a *budkhána*,[2] that is to say, an idol temple,

[1] *I.e.*, Jesus of Yemen.

[2] Christopher gives *budu* as the modern Maldive for "image" (*J. R. A. S.*, vol. vi, O. S., p. 57). The word was probably borrowed from the Persian *bud* or *bod*, an idol, which is probably taken from *Budah*. *Bud-parast* = idolater. The word *bod*, too, is a general term for an image with the Arab Oriental travellers, and may only indicate that the Buddhist parts of India were the first visited by the Arabs (*Journ. As.*, 1845, p. 167). Ibn Batuta elsewhere says that the Jama Masjid of Delhi was built upon the site of a former *Budkhána*; he does not therefore mean to imply here that the word was Maldive. As to the question whether Buddhism prevailed at the Maldives, see vol. i, p. 123, *note*. The Cretan sacrifice here described had of course no connection with Buddhism, and, likely enough, is mere legend: though it is probable enough that the temple with which the legend was connected was Buddhist.

which was built on the sea-shore and had a window by which she was visible. They left her there during the night and returned in the morning, at which time they were wont to find the young girl dishonoured and dead. Every month they drew lots, and he upon whom the lot fell gave up his daughter. At length arrived among them a Maghrabin[1] Berber, called *Abú'l-barakát*, who knew by heart the glorious Kurán. He was lodged in the house of an old woman of the island *Mahal*. One day he visited his hostess and found that she had assembled her relatives, and that the women were weeping as at a funeral. He questioned them upon the subject of their affliction, but they could not make him understand the cause, until an interpreter, who chanced to come in, informed him that the lot had fallen upon the old woman, and that she had an only daughter, who was now about to be slain by the evil Jinni. *Abú'l-barakát* said to the woman; 'I will go to-night in thy daughter's stead.' At that time he was entirely beardless. So, on the night following, after he had completed his ablutions, he was conducted to the idol temple. On arrival there he set himself to recite the Kurán. Presently, through the window, beholding the demon to approach, he continued his recitation. The Jinni, as soon as he came within hearing of the Kurán, plunged into the sea and disappeared; and so it was that, when the dawn was come, the Maghrabin was still occupied in reciting the Kurán. When the old woman, her relatives, and the people of the island, according to their custom, came to take away the girl and burn the corpse, they found the stranger reciting the Kurán. They conducted him to their King, by name *Shanúráza*,[2] whom they informed of this adventure. The King was astonished; and the Maghrabin both proposed to him to embrace the true faith, and inspired him with a desire for it. Then said *Shanúráza* to him: 'Remain with us till next month, and if you do again as you have now done and escape the evil Jinni, I will be converted.' Wherefore the stranger remained with the idolaters, and God disposed Ibn Batuta.

[1] *I.e.*, of *Maghreb*; the name given by the Arabs to the Moorish principalities of North-West Africa, nearly corresponding with what we now call Morocco.

[2] Cf. Sin. *Senarat*, "King (Chief Commander) of the army", and *Senaviratna*, "the gem-like General".

Ibn Batuta. the heart of the King to receive the true faith. He became Mussalmán before the end of the month, as well as his wives, children, and courtiers. At the beginning of the following month the Maghrabin was conducted again to the idol-temple; but the Jinní came not, and the Berber recited the Kurán till the morning, when the Sultan and his subjects arrived and found him so employed. Then they broke the idols, and razed the temple to the ground. The people of the island embraced Islám, and sent messengers to the other islands, whose inhabitants were also converted. The Maghrabin remained among them, and enjoyed their high esteem. The natives made profession of his doctrine, which was that of the *Imám Málik*. Even at present they respect the Maghrabins for his sake. He built a mosque, which is known by his name. I have also read the following inscription graven in wood on the enclosed pulpit of the chief mosque: '*Sultan Ahmed Shanúráza has received the true faith at the hands of Abú'l-barakát the Berber, the Maghrabín.*' This Sultan assigned a third of the taxes of the islands as alms to travellers, in recognition of his reception of Islám through their agency. This share of the taxes still bears a name which recalls this event.

"Owing to the demon in question many of the Maldive islands were depopulated before their conversion to Islám. When I reached the country I was not aware of this matter. One night, while I was at one of my occupations, I heard of a sudden people crying with a loud voice the creeds, 'There is no God but God', and 'God is very great'. I saw children carrying Kuráns on their heads, and women rapping the insides of basins and vessels of copper.[1] I was astonished at their conduct, and asked, 'What is happening?' to which they replied, 'Do you not see the sea?' Whereupon I looked, and saw, as it were, a kind of large ship, seemingly full of lamps and chafing-dishes. 'That is the demon,' said they to me; 'he is wont to show himself once a month; but when once we have done as you have seen, he turns back and does us no harm.'[2]

[1] M. *Koli*; see vol. i, p. 130.

[2] Vestiges of this romantic legend of their conversion still live in the traditions of the islanders. Intercourse with Persia has, however,

"*Of the Queen of these Islands.*—One of the marvels of the Maldives is that they have for their Sovereign a woman, by name *Khadíja*, daughter of the Sultan *Jalál uddín 'Omar*, son of the Sultan *Saláh uddín Sálih al-banjálí*. The kingdom had at one time been possessed by her grandfather, then by her father, and when the latter died, her brother, *Shihább uddín*, became King. He was a minor, and the Vizier *'Abd Allah*, son of *Mohammed Alhadhramí*, espoused his mother and assumed authority over him. He is the same personage who married the Sultana *Khadíja* after the death of her first husband, the Vizier *Jamúl uddín*, as we shall describe hereafter. When *Shihább uddín* attained full age he ousted his step-father, *'Abd Allah*, and banished him to the islands of *Suwaíd*. He was then left in sole possession, and chose as Vizier one of his freedmen, by name *'Alí Kalakí*,[1] whom he deposed at the end of three years and banished to *Suwaíd*. It is related of the Sultan *Shihább uddín* that he consorted nightly with the wives of the public officers and with courtezans. On that account he was deposed and exiled to the province of *Haladutení*[2]; some time afterwards one was sent thither who put him to death. Ibn Batuta.

"There then remained of the royal family only the sisters of the deceased, *Khadíja*, who was the eldest, *Miryam*, and *Fathima*. The natives raised *Khadíja* to the throne, who was married to their preacher, *Jamúl uddín*. The latter became Vizier and Prime Minister, and promoted his son *Mohammed* to the office of Preacher in his own stead; but orders were promulgated only in the name of *Khadíja*. These are traced on palm leaves by means of an iron [style] bent down and resembling a knife. Only the Kurâns and scientific treatises are written on paper. The Preacher makes

led them to assign to a Shaikh, *Yúsuf Shams-ud-dín* of *Tabríz*, the honour which Ibn Batuta claims for a Maghrabin, and the votaries of Hazrat Mirá Sáhib for the Nágúr saint (*C. A. S. Journ.*, No. 24, pp. 125-36, 1881). Their first Royal convert to Islam the Maldivians commonly know as *Darumavanta* (= S. *Dharmmavanta*, *i.e.*, "the Just") *Rasgefánu*. The mosque he built still stands, and continues to bear his name.

[1] *'Ali Kaléye*. The title *Kalége-fánu* or *Kalóge-fánu* (Pyrard, *Callogue*) accrues by purchase, not by birth.

[2] Above spelt *Haladummati*.

Ibn Batuta. mention of the Sultana on Fridays and on other great days, in the following terms: 'O God, succour Thy servant, whom Thou hast in Thy wisdom preferred before other mortals, and whom Thou hast made the instrument of Thy mercy towards all Musalmáns, namely the Sultana *Khadíja*, daughter of Sultan *Jalál uddín*, son of Sultan *Saláh uddín*.'

"When a stranger comes among these people and repairs to the hall of audience, which is called *dár*,[1] custom requires that he should take with him two cloths. He makes obeisance before the Sultana, and throws down one of these cloths. Then he salutes her Vizier, who is also her husband, *Jamál uddín*, and throws down the other. The army of this Queen consists of about a thousand men of foreign birth, though some of them are natives. They come every day to the hall of audience to salute her and then go home. Their pay is in rice, supplied to them at the *bandar* every month. When the month is ended, they present themselves at the audience hall, and, saluting the Vizier, say, 'Convey our respects (to the Queen) and inform her that we have come to request our pay.' Thereupon the necessary orders are given in their favour. The Kází and ministers, who among the people are entitled Viziers, also present themselves every day at the audience hall. They make a salutation, and when the eunuchs have transmitted their respects to the Queen, they retire.

"*Of the Ministers and their conduct of Government.*—The people of the Maldives call the Grand Vizier, the Sultana's Lieutenant, *Kalaki*[2]; and the Kází, *Fandayarkálú*.[3] All judgments are in the jurisdiction of the Kází: he is more highly esteemed by the people than all other men, and his orders are executed as those of the Sultan, and even better. He sits upon a carpet in the audience hall: he possesses three islands,[4] whose revenue he places to his

[1] Ar. "house".

[2] *I.e.*, Pyrard's *Quilague*; *v. s.*, vol. i, p. 210.

[3] I.e., *Fadiyáru Kalóge-fánu*, Pyrard's *Pandiare*.

[4] Corresponding with *nindagam* lands in Ceylon, the tenure of which is thus explained in Sir J. D'Oyley's MS., "Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom": "*Nindagama*, a village which, for the time being, is the entire property of the grantee, or temporary chief; definitely granted by the king with *sannas*, it becomes *paraveny*," etc. (p. 144).

private account, after an ancient custom established by the Sultan *Ahmed Shanúráza.* The Preacher is called *Handíjarí;* the Chief of the Treasury, *Fámeldári;* the Receiver-General of Revenue, *Máfákalú;* the Minister of Police, *Fitnáyak;* and the Admiral, *Mánáyak.*[1] All these have the title of Vizier. There is no prison in these islands: criminals are shut up in wooden houses built to contain the merchants' goods. Each one is placed in a wooden cell, as we have (in Morocco) for the Christian prisoners. Ibn Batuta.

"*Of my arrival at these Islands, and of the vicissitudes which I experienced there.*—When I came to this country I landed at the island *Kannalús*, which is fair to behold, and contains many mosques. I was lodged at the house of one of the most pious inhabitants. The lawyer *'Alí* gave me a feast. He was a man of distinction, and had sons addicted to study. I saw there a man named *Mohammed*, a native of *Dhafár-ul Humúdh*, who entertained me and said to me, 'If you set foot on the island of *Mahal*, the Vizier will forcibly detain you, for the people have no Kází.'[2] My intention at the time was to proceed from that country to Ma'bar,[3] to Serendíb, to Bengal, and then to China. I had then arrived at the Maldives in a ship whose captain was *'Omar Alhinaúri*, who was of the number of virtuous pilgrims. When we had come into harbour at *Kannalús*, he remained there ten days; then he hired a little barque to take him thence to *Mahal*, bearing a present for the Queen and her Consort. I wished to go with him, but he said, 'The barque is not big enough for you and your companions; if you will embark without them, you are welcome.' I declined this proposal, and *'Omar* took his departure. But the wind played with him, and at the end of four days he

[1] As to these ministers, see vol. i, pp. 210-13, *note*, where the names are given according to the French editors' transliteration.

[2] Probably meaning no duly qualified Kází; the existing Kází is mentioned below.

[3] The name of *Ma'bar* ("passage" or "ferry") was given to the Coromandel coast by the Arabs during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Col. Yule suggests that it referred to the communication with Ceylon, or, as is more probable, to its being at that age the coast most frequented by travellers from Arabia and the Gulf (*Marco Polo*, ii, p. 268). The tract of coast called *Ma'bar* extended from Cape Comorin to Nellore.

Ibn Batuta. came back to us, not without experience of travail. He made his excuses to me, and implored me to go with him, my companions and all. We set sail in the morning, and towards midday disembarked on a certain island; leaving that, we passed the night at another. After a four days' cruise, we arrived at the province of *Tím*, the governor whereof was one *Hilál*. He welcomed me, and gave me a feast; and afterwards came to visit me, accompanied by four men, two of whom had on their shoulders a rod[1] from which were suspended four chickens. The other two had a similar rod, to which were attached about ten coconuts. I was surprised that they thought so highly of these common objects; but was informed that they do this as a token of consideration and respect.[2]

"After leaving these people we landed on the sixth day at the island of *Othmán*, a man of great distinction and rectitude. He received us with honour, and entertained us. On the eighth day we put into an island belonging to a Vizier named *Talamdí*. On the tenth, we at length reached the island of *Mahal*, where the Sultana and her Consort reside, and cast anchor in the harbour. It is a custom of the country that no one may disembark without the permission of the inhabitants.[3] This was accorded to us; and I then desired to betake myself to some mosque, but the slaves on the beach prevented me, saying, 'It is necessary that you should first visit the Vizier.' I had requested the captain, when he should be questioned about me, to say, 'I know nothing of him,' for fear lest they should detain me; for I was then unaware that some ill-advised babbler had written out for them a full account of me, stating that I had been Kází at Delhi. On our arrival at the audience hall, we took our seats on benches at the third entrance door. The Kází *'Iça al-Yamaní* came up and welcomed me, while I saluted the Vizier. The ship captain *Ibráhím*[4] brought ten pieces of worked stuffs, made a salute before the Queen, and threw

[1] M. *daḍimáru*—the *katlíya* of the Sinhalese.

[2] The Sinhalese *penumkaḍa*, or pingo, of presents of sweetmeats, provisions, fruits, etc., is presented on like occasions.

[3] This rule is enforced to this day.

[4] Above he is called *'Omar*.

down one of them; then he bent the knee in honour of the Vizier, and threw down another, and so on to the last. He was questioned about me, and replied, 'I know nothing of him.' Ibn Batuta.

"We were then presented with betel and rose-water, which is a mark of honour with them. The Vizier gave us lodging in a house, and sent us a repast consisting of a large bowl full of rice and surrounded with dishes of salted meats dried in the sun, chickens, melted butter, and fish. On the morrow I set out with the captain and the Kází *'Iça al-Yamaní* to visit a hermitage situated at the extremity of the island, and founded by the virtuous Shaikh *Najíb*.[1] We returned at night, and on the following morning the Vizier sent me some raiment, and a repast comprising rice, melted butter, salt, sun-dried meat, coconuts, and honey extracted from the same fruit, called by the natives *korbáni*,[2] signifying 'sugar-water'. They brought me also 100,000 cowries for my expenses. After ten days there arrived a ship from Ceylon, having on board some Persian and Arab fakírs who knew me and told the servants of the Vizier all about me. This enhanced the pleasure given by my coming. He sent for me at the commencement of Ramazán. I found the Chiefs and Viziers already assembled; food was served at the tables, each of which accommodated a certain number of guests. The Grand Vizier made me sit by his side, in company of the Kází *'Iça*, the *Fámeldári*, Vizier or Chief of the Treasury, and the Vizier *'Omár* the *Dêherd*, or General of the army. The dinner of these islanders consists of rice, chickens, melted butter, fish, salt, sun-dried meat, and cooked bananas. After eating, they drink some coco-honey mingled with aromatics, which facilitates digestion.

"On the 9th of Ramazán, the son-in-law of the Vizier died. His wife, the daughter of that minister, had already been married to the Sultan *Shiháb uddín*; but neither of her husbands had cohabited with her, on account of her youth. Her father, the Vizier, took her back home, and gave me her house, which was an exceed-

[1] This old shrine (*Najíbu miskitu*), it is said, may still be seen at Málé.

[2] Probably ought to be *hakurpani* = Sin. *hakuru*, "jaggery", *peni*, "water" or "liquid", the former word appearing as *acourou* for "coco-honey", in Pyrard's vocabulary.

Ibn Batuta. ing fine one. I asked permission to entertain the fakírs on their return from visiting the Foot of Adam, in the island of Serendíb. This he granted, and sent me five sheep, a rare animal with the islanders, having to be brought from Ma'bar, Malabar, or Makdashau. The Vizier sent me also rice, chickens, melted butter, and spices. I had all these carried to the house of the Vizier *Sulemán*, the *Mánáyak*, who took the greatest care in having them cooked, augmenting them in quantity, and sending me carpets and copper vessels. We broke the fast, according to custom, in the palace of the Sultana, with the Grand Vizier, and I requested him to permit some of the other Viziers to assist at my dinner. He said, 'I will come myself too.' I thanked him and returned home; but he had already arrived with the Viziers and grandees of the State. He seated himself in a raised pavilion of wood. All who came, whether Chiefs or Viziers, saluted the Grand Vizier, and threw down a piece of unworked stuff, in such numbers that the total reached to a hundred or thereabouts, all of which the fakírs appropriated. Dinner was then served and eaten; then the readers of the Kurán gave a recitation with sonorous voice, which was followed by singing and dancing. I had a fire prepared, and the fakírs then entered and trampled it under foot; some of them even ate the live embers, as one would devour sweetmeats, until the flame was extinguished.

"*The Story of some of the Vizier's benefactions to me.*— When the night was ended the Vizier went home and I accompanied him. We passed a garden belonging to the Treasury, and the Vizier said to me, 'This garden is for you; I will have a house built upon it to serve for your residence.' I praised his kind action, and made vows in his favour. Next day he sent me a young female slave, and his messenger said, 'The Vizier bids me say, if this girl pleases you she is yours; otherwise he will send a Mahratta slave.' I liked the young Mahratta girls, so I replied, 'I prefer the Mahratta.' The minister had one brought to me, by name *Gulistán*, which signifies 'the flower of the garden'.[1] She knew the Persian tongue, and pleased me highly. The Maldive inhabitants have a language which I did not understand.

[1] More exactly, "the parterre of flowers".

"The next day, the Vizier sent me a young female slave from Coromandel, by name *Anbéri*.[1] On the following evening he came to my house with some of his servants, and entered, attended by two little boy slaves. I saluted him, and he asked me how I did. I made vows for his welfare, and thanked him. One of the slaves put before him a *lokcha* (or *bokcha*),[2] that is, a kind of napkin, from which he drew some silk stuffs and a box containing pearls and trinkets. The Vizier made me a present of them, adding, 'If I had sent these with the young slave, she would have said, "This is my property; I brought it from the house of my master." Now that the things belong to you, make her a present of them.' I addressed prayers to God for the minister, and rendered to him expressions of my gratitude, of which he was worthy. Ibn Batuta.

"*Of the Vizier's change of disposition towards me; of the project which I formed to depart; and of my continued sojourn at the Maldives.*—The Vizier *Suleïmán*, the *Mánáyak*, had proposed to me to espouse his daughter. I sent to ask the permission of the Vizier *Jamál uddín* to conclude the marriage. My messenger returned, saying, 'It does not please him; he wishes you to marry his own daughter when the legal term of her widowhood shall have expired.'[3] I refused to consent to this union, fearing the sinister fortune attached to the daughter of the Vizier, since two husbands had already died without having consummated the marriage. In the midst of this a fever seized me, and I was very ill. Every person who goes to that island must inevitably catch the fever.[3] I then made a firm resolve to get out of the country; I sold a portion of my trinkets for cowries, and chartered a ship to take me to Bengal. When I went to take my leave of the Vizier, the Kází came out to meet me, addressing me in these terms, 'The Vizier,' said he, 'bids me tell you this, "If you wish to go away, give us back what we have given you, and begone."' I replied, 'With a part of my trinkets I have bought cowries; do with them what you will.' In a little while the Kází returned to

[1] *I.e.*, of the colour of ambergris.

[2] If the latter be the correct reading, it is perhaps the M. *burugá*, a cloth sometimes worn over the face by Maldive ladies.

[3] *V. s.*, vol. i, p. 83.

Ibn Batuta. me and said, 'The Vizier says, "We have given you gold, not cowries."' I replied, 'Very well; I will sell them and will pay you gold.' Accordingly, I sent to request the merchants to buy the shells from me. But the Vizier gave them orders not to deal with me; for his design in so conducting himself was to prevent me going away from him.

"Then he deputed one of his household, who had this conversation with me, 'The Vizier bids me request you to remain with us, and you shall have everything you desire.' So I said to myself, 'I am under their authority: if I do not stay with a good grace, I shall have to stay by constraint: a voluntary sojourn is preferable to that.' I therefore made reply to the envoy, 'Very well I shall remain with him.' The messenger returned to his master who was delighted with my reply, and sent for me. When I entered his presence, he got up and embraced me, saying, 'We wish you to remain with us, and you wish to go!' I made my excuses, which were accepted, and said, 'If you wish me to stay I will impose upon you certain conditions.' The Vizier replied 'We accept them: please to name them.' I answered, 'I am unable to walk on foot.' Now it is a custom of that country that no one rides on horseback save only the Vizier. So it was that when I had a horse given to me and was mounted, the whole population, men and children, began to follow me with astonishment whereof I complained to the Vizier. Accordingly, a *donkora* was beaten, and it was proclaimed among the people that no one should follow me. The *donkora* is a kind of copper basin, which is struck with an iron or hammer, and gives a noise heard afar. After it is struck, the crier makes then in public his proclamation.

"The Vizier said to me, 'If you wish to ride in a palanquin, well and good: otherwise we have a horse and a mare: choose which of these animals you prefer.' I chose the mare, which was brought to me at once. At the same time some garments were brought to me. I said to the Vizier, 'What shall I do with the cowries which I have bought?' He replied, 'Send one of your

[1] Probably intended for *koli*, "gong". The iron striker is called *dadigadu*.

companions to sell them for you in Bengal.' 'I will do so,' said I, 'on condition that you send someone to help him in the affair.' 'I will,' he replied. So I despatched my comrade *Abu Mahommed*, son of *Ferhán*, in whose company they sent one called the pilgrim *'Alí*. But it happened that a storm arose: the crew jettisoned the whole cargo, including even the mast, the water, and all the other provisions for the voyage. They remained for sixteen days without sail and rudder; and after the endurance of hunger, thirst, and toil, they arrived at the island of Ceylon. In a year's time my comrade, *Abu Mahommed*, came back to me. He had visited the Foot (*of Adam*), and he afterwards saw it again with me. Ibn Batuta.

"*Account of the Festival in which I took part with the Islanders.*—The month of Ramazán ended, the Vizier sent me some raiment, and we made our way to the place consecrated for prayer. The path which the minister had to traverse, between his residence and the place of prayer, had been decorated: stuffs had been spread, and cottas of cowries had been placed on the right and on the left. All the Emirs and grandees who had houses on the road had planted near them little coco-trees, arecas, and bananas. Ropes were strung from one tree to the next, and green nuts were suspended from the ropes. The master of each house was stationed at his gate, and when the Vizier passed, he threw before his feet a piece of silk or cotton. The slaves of the minister appropriated these, as well as the cowries placed by the way. The Vizier advanced on foot, covered with an ample robe of goat's hair of Egyptian manufacture, and a large turban. For a scarf he wore a kerchief of silk; four umbrellas shaded his head, and sandals covered his feet. All his attendants, without exception, had their feet bare. Trumpets, clarions, and drums[1] preceded him: the soldiers marched before and behind him, all shouting the cry, 'God is very great!' until they were arrived at the place of prayer.[2]

"Prayer ended, the son of the Vizier preached: then was

[1] M. *tálafili; dummárhi; beru.*

[2] Compare Pyrard's account of the festival at the close of Ramazán, vol. i, p. 140.

Ibn Batuta. brought a litter, which the Vizier mounted. The Emirs and the other grandees again saluted him, casting down pieces of stuffs, according to custom. Before this time the Grand Vizier used not to ride in a litter, for the Kings alone did so. The bearers then lifted it; I mounted my horse, and we entered the palace. The minister seated himself at a raised dais, having near him the Viziers and the Emirs. The slaves remained standing, bearing shields, swords, and staves.[1] Food was then served, and afterwards areca-nuts and betel, after which was brought a little dish containing sandal *mokassiri*.[2] As soon as one party of the guests had eaten, they rubbed themselves with sandal. That day I saw upon one of their dishes a fish of the species of sardines, salted and raw, which had been sent as a present from *Kaulam*.[3] This fish is very abundant on the Malabar Coast.[4] The Vizier took a sardine, and began to eat it, at the same time saying to me, 'Eat some of that; it is not found in our country.' I answered 'How can I eat it? It is not cooked.' 'It is cooked,' said he But I replied, 'I know this fish well, for it abounds in my native land.'

"*Of my Marriage, and of my nomination to the dignity of Kázi.*—On the 10th day of Shawwál I agreed with the Vizier *Suleïmán Mánáyak* or Admiral, that I should espouse his daughter and I sent to request the Vizier *Jamúl uddín* that the betrothal should take place in his presence at the palace. He agreed, and sent the customary betel, and also some sandal. The people were present for the ceremony. The Vizier *Suleïmán* delayed his coming. He was sent for: and yet he came not. He was sent for a second time, but he excused himself on account of the illness of his daughter; wherefore the Grand Vizier said to me in private 'His daughter refuses to marry; and she is mistress of her own actions. But see! the people are assembled: would you like to espouse the step-mother of the Sultana, the widow of her father? (The Grand Vizier's son was then married to this woman's

[1] M. *addana; kaḍi; dadi.*

[2] The latter part of the word is perhaps the M. *kasturi*, "musk".

[3] Quilon.

[4] It is probably the *pesche cavalle* of Pyrard; see vol. i, pp. 388, 427.

daughter.) I replied, 'Yes, by all means.' He then convoked the Kázi and the notaries. The profession of the Musalmán faith was then recited, and the Vizier paid the nuptial gift. After some days my wife was brought to me. She was one of the best women who ever lived. Her good manners were such that when I became her husband, she anointed me with scented oils and perfumed my clothes; during this operation she laughed, and allowed nothing disagreeable to be seen. Ibn Batuta.

"When I had married this lady, the Vizier constrained me to accept the functions of the Kází. The cause of my nomination was that I had reproached the Kází for taking the tenth part of inheritances, when he made partition among the heirs. I said to him, 'You ought to have only a fee, which you should agree for with the heirs.' This judge did nothing rightly. After I was invested with the dignity of Kází, I used all my efforts to have the precepts of the law observed. Disputes are not settled in that country as in ours. The first bad custom which I reformed concerned the sojourn of divorced women at the houses of those who had repudiated them; for these women did not cease to remain at the houses of their former husbands, until they got married to others. I forbade this to be done under any pretext. About five-and-twenty men were brought to me who had conducted themselves in this sort. I had them beaten with whips, and had them marched through the bazárs. As for the women, I compelled them to leave the homes of these men. Next I exerted myself to get prayers celebrated: I ordered some men to run down the streets and bazárs immediately after the Friday's prayers. If any were discovered who had not prayed, I caused him to be beaten and marched through the town. I compelled the *Imáms* and *Muazzins* in possession of fixed incumbencies to apply themselves assiduously to their duties. I sent orders in the same sense to all the other islands. Lastly, I essayed to make the women clothe themselves, but in this I did not succeed.

"*Of the arrival of the Vizier 'Abd Allah, son of Mohammed Alhadhramí, whom Sultan Shihábuddín had banished to Suwaíd: account of what passed between us.*—I had espoused the step-daughter of this personage, and I loved this wife very dearly.

Ibn Batuta. When the Grand Vizier recalled him to the Island of *Mahal*, I sent him presents, went to meet him, and accompanied him to the palace. He saluted the Grand Vizier, who lodged him in a magnificent house, and there I often visited him. It happened, when I passed the month of Ramazán in prayer, that all the inhabitants visited me, except *'Abd-Allah*. The Vizier *Jamúl uddín* himself came to see me, and *'Abd-Allah* with him, but only bearing him company. Enmity arose between us. Afterwards, when I came out of my retreat, the maternal uncles of my wife, the step-daughter of *'Abd-Allah*, made a complaint to me. They were the sons of the Vizier *Jamúl uddín Assinjári*. Their father had appointed the Vizier *'Abd-Allah* to be their guardian, and their property was still in his hands, although they had by the law emerged from wardship. They demanded his appearance in Court. It was my custom, when I summoned one of the contending parties, to send him a slip of paper, either with or without writing. On delivery of that the party repaired to the Court; if he did not, I punished him. In this way I sent a paper to *'Abd-Allah*. This procedure raised his choler, and on account thereof he conceived a hatred for me. He concealed his enmity, and sent someone to plead for him. Some unseemly language was reported to me as having been used by him.

"The islanders, both gentle and simple, were accustomed to salute the Vizier *'Abd-Allah* in the same way as the Vizier *Jamúl uddín*. Their salutation consists in touching the ground with the forefinger, then kissing it, and placing it on the head. I issued orders to the public crier, and he proclaimed in the Queen's palace, in the presence of witnesses, that whoever should render homage to *'Abd-Allah* in like manner as to the Grand Vizier should incur severe chastisement. And I exacted from him a promise that he would not allow men to do so. His enmity against me was now increased. Meantime, I married another wife, daughter of a highly esteemed Vizier, whose grandfather was the Sultan *Dáud*, the grandson of the Sultan *Ahmed Shanúráza*.[1] Then I married

[1] This relationship fixes approximately the date of *Shanúráza* and of the Mahommedan conversion, which may have been as early as 1200 A.D., but—allowing for early marriages—perhaps more probably about 1220 or 1230 A.D.

one who had been married to the Sultan *Shihâb uddín*, and I had three houses built in the garden which the Vizier gave to me. My fourth wife, the step-daughter of *'Abd-Allah*, lived at her own house. She was the one of all my wives whom I cherished the most. Thus allied by marriage to the persons named, I was much feared by the Vizier and the people of the island, by reason of their own weakness. False reports were spread concerning me and the Grand Vizier, in great part by the zeal of the Vizier *'Abd-Allah*, so that our estrangement became final. Ibn Batuta.

"*Of my departure from these people, and of the motive thereof.*—It happened that one day the wife of a certain slave of the late Sultan *Jalál uddín* made a complaint of him to the Vizier, to the effect that he had an adulterous intrigue with one of the Sultan's concubines. The Vizier sent witnesses, who entered the girl's house and found the slave asleep with her upon the same carpet. Both were put in durance. In the morning, on being informed of this, I went to the audience hall and took my seat in my customary place. I made no reference to the affair. A courtier then approached me and said, 'The Vizier requests to know if you have any business with him.' I replied, 'No.' The design of the minister was that I should speak of the affair of the concubine and the slave; for it was my invariable rule to decide every case which he put before me. But as I was showing him my dissatisfaction and dislike, I omitted to do so then. I went straightway to my own house and took my seat where I delivered my judgments. Soon after came a Vizier, saying on behalf of the grand Vizier, 'Yesterday, such and such occurred in the matter of the concubine and slave; judge both of them conformably with the law.' I replied, 'It is a cause in which it is not fitting to deliver judgment save at the Sultan's palace.' I then repaired thither; the people assembled, and the concubine and the slave were summoned. I ordered that both should be beaten for their intrigue; then that the woman should be set at liberty and the slave kept in prison; after which I returned home.

"The Vizier sent several of his principal attendants to speak to me about setting the slave at liberty. I said to them, 'Intercession is made with me in favour of a negro slave, who has

Ibn Batuta. violated the respect which he owed to his master; while but yesterday you deposed the Sultan *Shihâb uddín* and slew him, because he entered the house of one of his slaves.' Thereupon I ordered the prisoner to be beaten with bambu switches, which produced more effect than the whip. I had him marched through the whole island with a rope round his neck. The messengers of the Vizier went and informed him of what passed, whereupon he discovered great agitation and was inflamed with anger. He assembled the other Viziers, the chiefs of the army, and sent for me. I obeyed the summons. It was my custom to pay him homage by bending the knee; but this time I did not do so, only saying, 'Peace be with you!' Then I said to those present, 'Be ye witnesses that I resign my functions as Kází, because I am rendered powerless to exercise them.' The Vizier then beckoning to me, I went up and took a seat in front of him, and then I answered in terms yet more severe. After this rencontre, the *Muazzin* made the call to prayer at sun-down, and the Grand Vizier entered his house, saying, 'Tis said, forsooth, that I am sovereign; but see! I have sent for this man in order to vent my wrath upon him, and he dares to be angry with me.' I was only respected by these islanders for the sake of the Sultán of India, for they knew the position I occupied under him. Although they are far removed from him, they fear him much in their hearts.

"When the Grand Vizier had returned to his house, he sent the deposed Kází, an eloquent speaker, who addressed me as follows: 'Our master requires to know why you have violated, in the presence of witnesses, the respect which is due to him, and why you have not rendered him homage?' I replied, 'I saluted him only when my heart was satisfied with him; but now that dissatisfaction has supervened, I have renounced the usage. The salutation of Mussulmans consists only of the *assélám*, and that I have pronounced.' Subsequently the Vizier sent this person a second time; he then said, 'You have no other aim but that of leaving us; pay the dowries of your wives, and what you owe to the men, and go when you will.' At this speech I bowed, and went to my house and paid such debts as I had contracted. Up

to this time the Vizier had given me some carpets and household utensils, such as copper vessels, etc. He was wont to grant me anything I asked, loving me and treating me with all consideration; but his disposition changed and he became inspired with fear of me. Ibn Batuta.

"When he heard that I had paid my debts, and that I was intending to depart, he repented of what he had said, and put off granting me permission to go. I adjured him by the strongest oaths that I was under necessity to resume my voyage. I removed my belongings to a mosque upon the beach, and repudiated one of my wives. To another, who was with child, I gave a term of nine months, within which I might return; in default she was to be mistress of her own actions. I took with me that one of my wives who had been married to the Sultan *Shihâb uddîn*, in order to restore her to her father, who dwelt in the island of *Molúk*, and my first wife, whose daughter was half-sister to the Sultana. I agreed with the Vizier *'Omar*, the *Dêherd*, and the Vizier *Hasân* the Admiral,[1] that I should go to the country of *Ma'bar*, the king of which was my brother-in-law, and that I should return with troops, to the end that the island might be reduced under his authority, and that I should then exercise the power in his name. I arranged that the signals between us were to be white flags hoisted on board the vessels. As soon as they should see these, those on shore were to rise in rebellion. I never had any such idea up to the day when I showed my displeasure. The Vizier was afraid of me, and said to the people, 'This man is determined to get the Vizierate, whether I live or die.' He made many inquiries about me, and added, 'I have heard that the King of India has sent him money, to use in raising trouble against me. He dreaded my departure, lest I should return from the Coromandel Coast with troops. He bade me remain until he should get a ship ready for me: but I refused.

"The half-sister of the Queen complained to her of the departure of her mother with me. The Queen wished to prevent her, but did not succeed. When she saw her resolve to go, she said to her

[1] Above, he calls the *mánáyak*, or admiral, by the name Suleimán.

Ibn Batuta. 'All the trinkets you possess were provided with money from the custom-house. If you have witnesses to swear that *Jalál uddín* gave them to you, good and well: otherwise restore them.' These trinkets were of considerable value; nevertheless, my wife gave them up to these people. The Viziers and Chiefs came to me while I was at the mosque, and prayed me to come back. I replied to them, 'Had I not sworn, I would assuredly return.' They said, 'Go then to some other island, so that your oath be kept, and then return.' 'Very well,' said I, to satisfy them. When the day of my departure was come, I went to bid adieu to the Vizier. He embraced me, and wept in such wise that his tears fell upon my feet. He passed the following night watching in the island, for fear lest my connections by marriage and my comrades should rise in rebellion against him.

"At length I got away and arrived at the island of the Vizier *'Alí*. My wife was in great distress, and wished to return. I repudiated her and left her there, and wrote this news to the Vizier, for she was the mother of his son's wife. I repudiated also the wife to whom I had fixed the term for my return, and sent for a slave girl I was fond of. Meanwhile, we sailed through the midst of the islands, from one group to another.

"*Of Women who have only one Breast.*—In one of the islands I saw a woman who had only one breast. She was mother of two daughters, of whom one resembled her exactly, and the other had two breasts, only that one was large and full of milk, the other small and contained none. I was astonished at the conformation of these women.

"We arrived in course at another of these islands, which was small, and had a solitary house, occupied by a weaver, a married man and father of a family. He possessed small coco-trees, and a little barque, which served him for fishing and visiting the other islands when he wished; on his islet were also small banana trees. We saw there none of the birds of the continent, except two crows, which flew in front of us on our arrival and circled round our ship. I truly envied the lot of this man, and made a vow that if his island should belong to me, I would retire to it until the inevitable term should arrive for me.

"I next arrived at the island of *Molúk*,[1] where I found the ship belonging to the captain *Ibráhím* in which I had resolved to sail to Ma'bar. That person came to visit me along with his companions, and they entertained me at a fine feast. The Vizier had written in my favour an order requiring them to give me at this island 120 *bostú* of cowries, 20 goblets of *atuán*[2] or coco-honey, and to add to that every day a certain quantity of betel, arecanuts, and fish. I remained at *Molúk* 70 days, and married two wives there. *Molúk* is one of the fairest islands to see, being verdant and fertile. Among other marvellous things to be seen there, I remarked that a branch cut off one of the trees there, and planted in the ground or on a wall, will cover itself with leaves and become itself a tree.[3] I observed also that the pomegranate tree there ceases not to bear fruit the whole year round. The inhabitants of this island were afraid that the captain *Ibráhím* was going to harry them at his departure. They therefore wanted to seize the arms which his ship contained, and to keep them until the day of his departure. A dispute arose on this subject, and we returned to *Mahal*, but did not disembark. I wrote to the Vizier informing him of what had taken place. He sent a written order to the effect that there was no ground for seizing the arms of the crew. We then returned to *Molúk*, and left it again in the middle of the month of Rábí the second of the year 745.[4] In the month of Shabán, of the same year,[5] died the Vizier *Jumál uddín*. The Sultana was with child by him, and was delivered after his death. The Vizier *'Abd-Allah* then took her to wife. Ibn Batuta.

[1] Probably *Fua Mulaku* Island, which lies detached a little S.E. of the centre of the Equatorial Channel (lat. 0° 17′ S.) between Huvadú and Addú atolls. Ibn Batuta had already "sailed through the midst of the islands, from one group to another."

[2] Above, at p. 22, coco-honey is called *korbáni*.

[3] There are considerable remains of temples on this island; see above, vol. i, p. 124, *note*; and below, the account of the visit of the brothers Parmentier in 1529. The tree indicated seems to be the Bo-tree; were, then, the temples originally Buddhist?

[4] About the 26th August, A.D. 1344.

[5] December 1344.

Ibn Batuta. "As for us, we sailed on, though without an experienced pilot. The distance which separates the Maldives from the Coromandel Coast is three days' sail. We were for nine days under sail, and on the 9th we made land at the island of Serendib."

[Ibn Batuta landed in Ceylon at the port of *Batthála*, somewhere on the N.W. coast, and thence, after successfully performing the pilgrimage to the sacred footprint of our father Adam, he took ship for the coast of Coromandel. At Devipatam and Madura he was the guest of a Mahommedan prince, *Ghaiyáth-ud-dín*, who died during the visit. This raja was succeeded by his nephew, *Násir-ud-dín*, whom Ibn Batuta had previously known as a domestic servant at Delhi. The traveller had exacted from the deceased prince the promise of a fleet wherewith to subdue his enemies at the Maldives, and this promise was renewed by his nephew. While the fleet was being equipped, Batuta was attacked by a serious fever, which made him anxious to get away from the country without delay. Regardless alike of his revenge and his matrimonial connections he took ship at Devipatam for Yemen, but got himself put ashore at Quilon, where he remained three months. He then embarked in another, which was attacked by pirates near Hunáwar. He was robbed of the whole of his property, including some valuable gems presented to him by a raja in Ceylon, and even his clothes. He thus proceeds:—]

"I returned to Calicut and entered one of the Mosques. A lawyer sent me a suit of clothes; the Kází, a turban; and a merchant, another coat. I was here informed of the marriage of the Vizier *'Abd Allah* with the Queen *Khadíja*, after the death of the Vizier *Jumál uddín*, and I heard that my wife, whom I had left pregnant, was delivered of a male child. It came into my heart to go back to the Maldives, but I feared the enmity which existed between me and the Vizier *'Abd Allah*. In consequence, I opened the Kurán, and these words appeared before me: 'The angels shall descend unto them, and shall say, Fear not, neither be ye grieved.'[1] I implored the benediction of God, took my departure, and arrived in ten days at the Maldives, and landed at the island of *Kannalús*. The Governor of this island *'Abd-al-*

[1] *Kurán*, Sur. xii, 30.

'Aziz Al-Makdashawi,[1] welcomed me with respect, entertained me, and got a barque ready. I arrived in due course at *Hololi*,[2] an island to which the Queen and her sisters resort for their diversion and for bathing. The natives term these amusements *tetdjer* (?), and they then have games on board the vessels. The Vizier and chiefs send offerings to the Queen of such things as are found in the island. I met there the Queen's sister, wife of the preacher *Mohammed*, son of *Jumál uddín*, and his mother, who had been my wife. The preacher visited me, and he was served with food. Ibn Batuta.

"Meanwhile, some of the inhabitants went across to the Vizier *'Abd Allah* and announced my arrival. He put some questions about me and the persons who had come with me, and was informed that I had come to take my son, who was now about two years old.[3] The mother presented herself before the Vizier to complain of me, but he told her, 'I will not prevent him taking away his son.' He pressed me to go to the island (Málé), and lodged me in a house built opposite the tower of his palace, in order that he might be aware of my estate. He sent me a complete suit of clothes, betel, and rose-water, according to custom. I took to him two pieces of silk to throw down at the moment of saluting him. These were received from me, with the intimation that the Vizier would not come out to receive me that day. My son was brought to me, but it seemed to me that it would be better for him to remain among the islanders. I therefore sent him back, and remained five days in the island. I thought it best to hasten my departure, and asked the usual permission. The Vizier sent for me, and I repaired to his presence. They brought to me the two pieces of stuff they had previously taken from me, and I cast them before the Vizier and saluted him in the customary way. He made me sit by his side and questioned me of my condition. I ate in his company and washed my hands in the same basin with him, which thing he does with no one. Betel was then

[1] *I.e.*, of Makdashau, or Magadoxo.

[2] Probably *Oluveli* island in North Málé atoll.

[3] The son of Ibn Batuta here spoken of was probably born before the close of 1344. The traveller took his final departure from the Maldives about the close of the year 1346.

Ibn Batuta. brought, and I came away. The Vizier sent me cloths and *bostús* of cowries, and conducted himself towards me in the most perfect way. I took my departure, and after a voyage of forty-three days we arrived at Bengal."

Abd-er-Razzak. 18. For nearly a hundred years after the departure of Ibn Batuta nothing is recorded of the Maldives by traveller, friend or foe. De Barros' statement, that they were involved in the vassalage to China, to which Ceylon is said to have been subjected for the first half of the fifteenth century, is confessedly founded upon a mere rumour.[1] The next recorded allusion to the islanders, indeed, is against the hypothesis. In the year 1442 the traveller Abd-er-Razzak, in describing the various foreign merchants who frequented the great emporium of Ormuz, mentions those of "the islands of *Diwa-Mahal*".[2] Any suzerainty, therefore, to which the Chinese may have laid claim does not seem to have involved commercial monopoly.

The presence of the Maldivians at Ormuz on the occasion of Abd-er-Razzak's visit is to be regarded not as a solitary venture, but rather as indicative of a regular trade. We learn from Ibn Batuta that in the preceding century the islanders conducted a regular trade with Arabia, probably at Aden, in dried fish, coir, and cowries. Their more valuable products, ambergris and tortoise-shell, were, as we have seen, well known in the markets of the East from an early period. During the fifteenth century Ormuz was the market at which were collected the most precious products, suitable alike by their lightness and value for the long caravan journey through Persia and Syria to Europe. While, therefore, the Maldive coir and fish would find a ready sale as ship's provisions at such a port as Ormuz, we may conclude that the more substantial profits of the voyage proceeded from ambergris and tortoise-shell. Other indications also point to regular and long-continued commerce with Persia. The silver coinage of the

[1] See De Barros' *Asia*, Dec. III, liv. II, c. i, p. 111. The Maldives were, however, regularly visited by the Chinese in this century, and are marked and described in Chinese charts of the time. See Mr. Phillips' paper in *J. China Br. R. A. S.*, 1885 (vol. xx, N. S.).

[2] *India in Fifteenth Cent.* (Hak. Soc.), i, 6.

Maldives, the *larin*, was adopted from Persian use,[1] and probably for a long period the Persian coins taken in exchange for Maldive commodities were themselves current at the islands. It is also to be noted that the Maldivians of later days attributed, if not the introduction, at any rate the revival of the Mahommedan faith to the efforts of Persian missionaries. Abd-er-Razzak.

At the beginning of the next century the trade with Ormuz and Aden was at first thwarted by the Portuguese blockade of Western India, and, as to Ormuz, finally closed by the capture of that port. Although Maldive trade was temporarily enhanced at subsequent times—during the first years of the sixteenth century, and again during the Portuguese occupation of the islands,—we may regard the latter half of the fifteenth century as the period at which it attained its highest point of normal development.

19. The last glimpse of the Maldives before the irruption of the Portuguese is afforded us by the Genoese merchant, Hieronimo di Santo Stefano, who, returning from Pegu and Sumatra on his way to Cambay in 1497, was forced by weather to take refuge at the Maldives. It is to be regretted that his six months' residence produced no better result than the following paragraph[2]:— Hieronimo di Santo Stefano.

"After being twenty-five days at sea in unfavourable weather, we reached certain islands called the Maldives, which are from seven to eight thousand in number, all desert,[3] small and low, through which the sea for the most part enters, the space from one to another being about a mile and a half; and there were seen in them an infinite number of people, all black and naked, but in good condition, and courteous. They hold the faith of the Moors, and have a chief who rules over the whole of them. There are trees growing there which produce the coco-nuts of large size. The people live on fish and a little rice, which they import. We were obliged to stay here six months to wait for favourable weather for our departure."

[1] See vol. i, p. 232.

[2] *Op. cit.*, iv, p. 8.

[3] The text reads *dishabitate*, which may be a transcriber's error. Mr. Major translates as above, but "desert" is almost as contradictory to the latter part of the sentence as "uninhabited". I am inclined to think the author wrote *habitate*.

The Portuguese irruption.

20. In the following year, 1498, Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut by way of the Cape, an event which, happening almost simultaneously with the discovery of America, had the effect of removing the centres of trade and civilisation from the Levant to Western Europe. Down to this time the luxuries of the world were enjoyed by the cities of Bagdad, Damascus, Cairo, and Constantinople, which had now attained the highest pitch of wealth, refinement, and civilisation possible under Moslem conditions. The most opulent of European cities, Venice and Genoa, flourished mainly by retailing the surplus commodities of those great marts among the countries of the West. To have merely named the above half-dozen cities is sufficient to recall to our imagination the magnitude of the Eastern trade of those days as compared with anything that Western Europe could show. The wealth of the Mahommedan merchant cities arose chiefly from the fact that they collected and disseminated the whole export produce of India and the Far East. The bulk of this produce was sea-borne, and a few words, with a mere glance at the map, will serve to explain the mode in which the Portuguese struck for the prize which fortune now displayed to their avarice.

The lines of maritime commerce from further India and China drew together until Ceylon was rounded, and then again diverged. Vessels bound for Aden and the Red Sea touched at Ceylon, the Maldives, or Calicut, thence striking across the Indian Ocean. The other main line proceeded by way of Calicut and the other flourishing ports of the Malabar coast to Cambay, and thence across to Ormuz. The produce carried by way of Aden was carried up the Red Sea to Jeddah, or further to Suez, for delivery to the merchants of Cairo. That landed at Ormuz, enhanced by the merchandise of all Western India, found its way to Bagdad or Damascus, and thence by the caravan routes to Europe.

A first preliminary observation is that free trade prevailed: a second, that all nations seem to have had a hand in it, no one race, as in later days, doing a disproportionate share of the carrying trade. "Calicut is a perfectly secure harbour", writes Abd-er-Razzak, whom we have already quoted, "which, like that of Ormuz, brings together merchants from every city and from every country: in

it are to be found abundance of precious articles brought thither from maritime countries, and especially from Abyssinia, Zirbad, or Zanguebar: from time to time ships arrive there from the shores of the House of God [Mecca] and other parts of the Hedjaz, and abide at will, for a greater or longer space, in this harbour; the town is inhabited by infidels, and situated on a hostile shore. It contains a considerable number of Mussulmans, who are constant residents, and have built two mosques. . . . . Security and justice are so firmly established in this city, that the most wealthy merchants bring thither from maritime countries considerable cargoes, which they unload, and unhesitatingly send into the markets and the bazaars, without thinking in the meantime of any necessity of checking the account or of keeping watch over the goods. . . . . When a sale is effected, they levy a duty on the goods of one-fortieth part: if they are not sold, they make no charge on them whatsoever. . . . . At Calicut every ship, whatever place it may come from, or wherever it may be bound, when it puts into this port is treated like other vessels, and has no trouble of any kind to put up with."[1] Of Ormuz the same traveller speaks with equal wonder: as a port "it has not its equal on the surface of the globe. The merchants of seven climates . . . . all make their way to this port." Among those mentioned are the merchants of Egypt, Syria, Turkistan, China, Java, Pegu, Bengal, the Maldives, Malabar, Cambay, and Zanzibar. "Travellers from all countries resort hither, and, in exchange for the commodities they bring, they can without trouble or difficulty obtain all that they desire. Bargains are made either by money or by exchange. For all objects, with the exception of gold and silver, a tenth of their value is paid by way of duty.[2] Persons of all religions, and even idolaters, are found in great numbers in this city, and no injustice is permitted towards any person whatever."

The Portuguese irruption.

This picture of Indian trade in the fifteenth century is here

[1] *India in the Fifteenth Century*, i, pp. 13, 14.

[2] The Russian Nikitin justly thought this ten per cent. duty rather high (*India in the Fifteenth Century*, iii, p. 19). There was, however, no favoured nation clause, and in effect it was not prohibitive.

The Portuguese irruption.

introduced as being illustrative of the commercial world in which the Maldivians moved and took their part. It will now be easy to understand what followed when the Portuguese swooped upon Calicut, and, by conduct not to be distinguished from common piracy, broke up link by link the commercial chain which had hitherto extended from Genoa and Venice to Malacca and Pekin.

Active operations were begun by the second expedition which left Lisbon under Cabral, in March 1500. The Zamorin of Calicut declared against the invaders, and entered upon the long struggle for free trade and independence, which lasted throughout the Portuguese domination, and reduced Calicut to commercial insignificance. The rivalry which existed between the Zamorin and the Raja of Cochin led the latter to accord the Portuguese a favourable reception. A factory was established, and from this coign of vantage the Portuguese commenced to harry the seas of Western India.

They found the largest share of the carrying trade in the hands of Mahommedans, to whom they transferred all the implacable hatred stored up in their European memories against the followers of the Prophet, and whom, regardless of race and distance, they designated by the common name of "Moors". Confiscation of goods and slavery were meted out to everyone seized on the immemorial route of Eastern commerce; nor was any prior notice or proclamation deemed necessary to justify the capture. Natives of Calicut, as will be seen, were specially dealt with.

The Maldivians got their first practical information of the new *régime* when, in the year 1503, four of their ships had the misfortune to be sighted by Chief Captain Vicente Sodré, then cruising off Calicut.[1]

"When he (Sodré) was off Calicut," Correa relates, "he sighted four sail, which he overhauled and took. They proved to be *gundras*, barques of the Maldive Islands, at which is made the *cairo* rope which serves the ships of all India for cables and shrouds, besides

[1] Vasco da Gama had just left for Europe after his second visit to India, and had appointed Sodré to carry on his work. The events at Calicut, preceding the episode of the Maldive ships, may be read in Lord Stanley's *Three Voyages of V. da Gama*, extracted from Correa.

being of great use on shore. *Gundras* are built of palm-timber, joined and fastened with pegs of wood without any bolts. The sails also are made of mats of the dry leaves of the palm. These vessels were laden with cairo and *caury*, which are small white shells found among the islands in such quantity that ships make their cargoes of them. In these a great trade is carried on with Bengal, where they are current as money. These *gundras* also carried some dried fish, called *moxama*, which consists of pieces of bonito fish dried in the sun, because there is no salt at these islands: yet are they made so dry that they never go bad. Such quantities of this, too, are made at the islands, that ships are laden with it; there is no better victuals for sailors, and all seamen are provisioned upon it during their voyages. The vessels also carried good store of silks, both coloured and white, of divers fabrics and qualities, and many brilliant tissues of gold, made by the islanders themselves, who get the silk, gold, and cotton-thread from the numerous ships that pass among the islands on their way from the coast of Bengal to the Straits of Meca. These ships buy these stuffs from the islanders, supplying them in exchange with the materials whereof they are made. Thus are these islands a great emporium for all parts, and the Moors of India frequent them, bartering their salt and earthenware, which are not made at the islands, and also rice and silver. In these *gundras* were many Moors of Calicut, who had gone thither to purchase goods, and were bringing them back in the vessels chartered by them. The Portuguese irruption.

"On the capture of the *gundras* the chief captain bade the several masters of them point out the Moors of Calicut, otherwise he would burn the whole of them together; thereupon, in their fear, they did so. These were forthwith bound hand and foot, and placed in the hold of one of the *gundras*, which had been discharged of its cargo. Over them was heaped a quantity of *ola*,[1] all the *gundras* being fitted with packing-cases of *olas* for carrying

[1] Malayāl. *óla*, Tam. *olei*, the palm-leaf. Upon strips of the palmyra leaf all native letters, orders, and books are written, and these are in Anglo-Indian, as in Indo-Portuguese use, commonly called *olas*. Here, probably, ordinary coconut leaves are intended. See Yule, *Gloss.*, s. v. "Ollah".

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the goods. Fire was then applied, which, with the aid of the breeze, set the whole in a blaze. Some of the Moors took to the water, and succeeded in swimming ashore, and there related what had taken place. The Moors that were burnt numbered upwards of a hundred, and this event much increased the mischief at Calicut. As for the Moors of the islands that were in the other three *gundras*, the chief captain warned them never again to go to Calicut, for that if ever they were found carrying any goods there, they would be burned alive. He then sent them in to Cananor in charge of one of the caravellas to be unloaded at the factory. With them he also sent his fleet factor, and also his clerk, who appraised and sold the whole cargo," etc.

Thus began Portuguese intercourse with the Maldives. In the same year a Portuguese ship was driven by stress of weather to one of the Maldives, where, in the course of a few days, many died through drinking stagnant water, and over-indulgence in the fruit and fish diet of the place.

Up to this time the Maldives had not drawn upon them the personal attention of the Portuguese. The tactics of the Eastern traders now involved them in the general misfortune. Calicut being under blockade, the merchants were obliged to give Western India a wide berth. Thus, in 1506, the viceroy, Francisco de Almeida, "was informed that many ships from Pegu, Siam, and Bengal were passing through the Maldive Islands to Mecca. Therefore orders were given that Dom Lourenço [de Almeida, the viceroy's son] should proceed with the armada, and see what was going on at these islands, and whether ships could be seized."[1] Lourenço set sail, but was carried by the currents to Ceylon, where he laid the foundation of the Portuguese connection with that island. The Maldive expedition was not carried out.

The next mention of the Maldives is in the year 1509, when Affonso d'Albuquerque was repairing his fleet at Cochin, and sent orders to Cananor for a supply of coir. His information was that one Mamalle, a Moor of that place, "was trading with the Maldive Islands, under an agreement with the king of these islands,

[1] *Lendas*, tom. i, p. 643.

whereby the latter sold his goods at fixed prices, the Moor sending rice, salt, and earthenware, which the islands lacked, and receiving in exchange coir, dried fish, cowries, and very fine silks. The Moor had his own factors there, and as the islands were distant only three days' sail from Cananor, he was gaining great profit. Owing to his said agreement the other merchants could not buy or sell, and thus the Moor Mamalle was called Lord of the Maldive Islands. All the coir for the use of the whole of India was bought from this Moor, and thus he was master of great wealth." The Portuguese irruption.

Albuquerque sent for Mamalle, and ordered him to give up his trade with the islands, and to remove his factors from the place, "as the islands belonged to the King of Portugal, who would hinder no one from trading there". Mamalle not being convinced of the blessings of free trade, especially, perhaps, when preached by the Portuguese viceroy, begged earnestly to be allowed to keep his monopoly. He made the best terms he could; which were that he should deliver annually to the Portuguese factor at Cannanor 1,000 ropes of fine and 1,000 of coarse coir, each weighing a quintal and a half, and that he should place no hindrance in the way of the Portuguese if they should visit the Maldives for purposes of trade.

"The foregoing agreement," adds Correa, "was duly observed during the government of Affonso d'Albuquerque; but his successors, understanding how to profit themselves by the trade, gave it over to their servants and friends, and violated the contract. The ships and armadas sent by the factor of the King of Portugal reduced his profit to nothing, and did many robberies and mischief at the islands, as they are doing at the present day. These practices have cost the king much expense. The coir has also cost him much money, and has not been got without many difficulties and the deaths of many Portuguese, as will be related."

After the departure of Albuquerque the Maldives became the hunting ground of Portuguese pirates. In 1517 the third viceroy, Lopo Soares, was informed that one Jeronymo de Sousa was "playing the pirate" at the Maldives. An expedition was accordingly sent under Dom Fernando de Monroys and and João Gonçalves de Castello Branco, with orders to capture or

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kill the rebel. Whether they took Sousa or not does not appear: Correa merely relates that when they got to the Maldives they turned pirates themselves, and seized two rich ships of Cambay, which were sailing under Portuguese passports. "What!" cried the masters of the captured vessels, "you dare to seize these ships that are at peace with you, and you observe not the promises made in your own passports!"

In 1517, according to Faria, permission to build a factory was granted to the Portuguese by the Maldive king; and for this purpose the successor of Soares, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, despatched an expedition in 1519, under João Gomes Cheiradinheiro, consisting of four small vessels carrying 120 men. This worthy also proceeded to play the pirate; for not only did he seize two rich ships of Tenasserim, the goods and crews of which he sold to the islanders, but he also harried the islanders themselves at his will. Collecting his booty, he landed at *Mafacelou* (? Málé), "where the king of the islands was dwelling", and there built himself a fort, into which he continued to draw compulsorily the produce of the islands, "paying for it according to his pleasure."

The Maldivians, in their distress, despatched a boat to Calicut to invoke the aid of Baleacem, a noted Makabar corsair. This personage was absent at the time, but the envoys found a friend in Pata-marákkár, formerly a merchant of Cochin, who, having had two ships seized by the Portuguese, had taken to buccaneering. Twelve Malabar *paráos* were soon collected, manned, and despatched. Guided by the Maldive boat, they fell upon the Portuguese ships as they lay unmanned in the harbour, and then upon the fort, which was unprotected on the water-side. The islanders joined in the attack with the fury of revenge, and, after a short struggle, every Portuguese was put to the sword. The whole booty, which was considerable, was divided between the islanders and their allies.

Thus did the Maldivians regain the freedom of their territory. For the next thirty years no attempt was made by the Portuguese to establish a fort at the islands, though they continued to be the resort of cruisers, whose captains, while affecting to intercept the merchantmen on their way to and from the Red Sea, employed their leisure in piracy among the atolls.

In 1550 the abdication of King Hassan, and his subsequent conversion to Christianity, induced the Portuguese again to intervene actively in Maldive affairs. From this point Pyrard himself takes up the thread of Maldive history. (See vol. i, p. 244.) The Portuguese irruption.

21. There now remain three notices of the Maldives relating to the first half-century of the Portuguese period, the close of which will be assigned as the limit of this Appendix. The first of these is from the work of Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese soldier, who saw much service in various parts of the East between 1501 and 1517. The book[1] deals but little with Portuguese affairs of State, and much with geography and native races; the author, indeed, writes hardly at all as a soldier, and more as a gazetteer than a traveller. Every place of importance on the coasts between the Cape and China has its paragraph or chapter, and among these are— Barbosa.

"*The Islands of Maldio.*—Over against this land of further Malabar,[2] forty leagues off, lies an archipelago of islands, said by the Moors to number 12,000. They begin opposite Mount Deli, at the shoals of Padua,[3] and extend to the parts opposite Malaca. The first are four small and very flat islands called *Maldio*[4]; these are peopled by Malabar Moors, and said to belong to the King of Cannanor.[5] They grow nothing but palm-trees, upon which the natives subsist, together with such rice as comes from Malabar in the ships which come there to load coir rope. [[6]*Islands of Palan-*

[1] Published in the *Noticias das Naç. Ultramarinas*, tom iii, p. 352, Lisbon, 1812. This edition shows the various readings of Ramusio and of the Lisbon MS.

[2] He has just described Cape Comorin.

[3] *Baixos de Padua*, in lat. 13° N. They are mentioned by De Barros (see below), and also in the *Albuquerque Comm.* (Hak. Soc.), vol. iii, p. 55, and figured in the Map of F. Vaz Dourado, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 1.

[4] He misapplies the name to the Laccadives.

[5] As they do still; but see vol. i, p. 323.

[6] This passage is in Ramusio, but not in the Lisbon MS. It is evidently a paraphrase of the preceding paragraph by the Spanish translator whose text Ramusio used. Unfortunately this has not been noted in the Hakluyt Society's translation of this work, and the author is thus made to describe two separate groups in strangely similar language; whereas it is tolerably clear, if we omit this passage in brackets, that he regards the Laccadives and Maldives as one group,

Barbosa. *dura*.—Over against Panani, Cochim, and Coulão (Quilon) are other islands, ten or twelve of which are inhabited by dusky Moors of small stature, who have a language of their own. The king, who is a Moor, has his residence at an island called *Mahaldiu*. To all these islands they give the name of *Palandura*. The natives do not bear arms, and are feeble folk, but very clever, and above all, great sorcerers. The king of these islands is elected by some Moor merchants, natives of Cananor, who change him at their will. The king of their choice pays them annually tribute of cordage, ropes of coir, and other produce of the place; and sometimes these Moors themselves come and load their ships without bringing any money, notwithstanding which, the natives, willingly or unwillingly, are constrained to give them all they ask.] At these islands is much dried fish (*moxama*), which is exported: as also some little shells, in which is great traffic with Cambay and Bengal, where they are used for petty cash, being considered better than copper. They make there also very rich cloths of cotton, silk, and gold, which fetch a high price among the Moors for their apparel, and . . . . [[1]The men of these islands wear very fine kerchiefs on their heads, so close-woven and beautiful that our workmen could not produce the like except with a wrong and a right side. In these islands, also, they collect tortoiseshell, which they call *Alquáma*; this they cut into very thin pieces, and export largely to the kingdom of Guzerat.] Much amber(gris) is also found at these islands, and in large pieces, some white, some grey, and some black. I asked many of these Moors frequently what this amber was, and whence it came. They deem it to be the droppings of birds, saying that in this archipelago are some uninhabited islands, on the rocks and reefs of which some big birds perch, and there void this amber; there it is exposed to the action of the wind, sun, and rain, until by storm

some of the more northerly islands of which were occupied by Malabars. With these he seems to include Málé (*Mahal-diu*), probably on account of the close commercial relations of that island with Cannanor. It will be seen below that De Barros follows Barbosa in all his mistakes. *Palandura* (or, as Lord Stanley reads, *Palandiva*) is unintelligible.

[1] In the Lisbon MS., but not in Ramusio.

and tempest the sea sweeps over these rocks and reefs, and it is broken off in large and small pieces. Thence it floats on the sea till either it is found or cast up on some beach, or eaten by whales. They say that the amber found in the white state, which they call *Ponambar*, has been but a short time on the sea, and is by them esteemed the most precious. The grey has been a longer time in the water, and thence has this colour; it also is considered very good, but not so good as the white. That which is found black and bruised they say has been eaten by whales, and thus has been turned black. Its nature is such that the whales cannot digest it, and therefore eject it whole. This kind is called *Minambar*, and is of less value among them. Barbosa.

"In these islands of Maldio they build many large ships of palm-wood, held together with matting, because they have no other timber there. In these they voyage to the mainland. These ships have keels, and are of very considerable capacity. The islanders build also small rowing-crafts, like brigantines or fustas: these are of great strength, admirably built, and extremely light; they serve chiefly for going from one island to another, though they are also used for crossing over to Malabar.

To these islands come many ships of the Moors from China, Maluco, Peegu, Malaca, Çamatra, Benguala, and Ceilam, in their passage to the Red Sea. Here they take in water, provisions, and other necessaries for the voyage. Sometimes they arrive in such battered condition that they have to be discharged and abandoned. Among these islands are lost many rich vessels of the Moors, which in their passage of the Ocean dare not make the coast of Malabar for fear of our ships. [[1]From these the inhabitants of the islands get much rich merchandise, which they sell to the Malabars who come there to load coir, as has already been said.]"

22. João de Barros, the historian of Portuguese India, was a clerk or officer in the *Casa da India*, or India Office, at Lisbon. He had never himself visited the East, as had Gaspar Correa, whose *Lendas* cover nearly the same period, and Diogo de Couto, J. de Barros.

[1] In the Lisbon MS., but not in Ramusio.

J. de Barros. his continuator.[1], His materials were obtained in the course of his official duties. Uncorrected by personal observation, and lacking the picturesqueness of detail which Eastern experience imparts to the narratives of the other historians, his work is of the greatest value as a compendium of the information about India possessed by the authorities at Lisbon in the middle of the 16th century. De Barros died in 1570.

The expedition of João Gomes de Cheiradinheiro to the Maldives, which has been described above in the language of Correa, who was in India at the time, is more shortly and less correctly narrated by de Barros, but the opportunity is taken, by way of preface, to summarise all the information about the Maldives that was then current in Portugal. The passage here translated occurs in the 7th chapter of the 3rd book of the third *Decada*, first published in 1563 :—

"Inasmuch as João Gomes de alcuna Cheiradinheiro was the first to build a fort on the Maldive Islands, it will be convenient, before describing his actions, to give here a general account of these Maldive islands, which we have referred to so often. This name *Maldiva*, though it is the distinctive name of a single island, as we shall see, etymologically is derived from the Malabar language, meaning 1,000 Islands—*mal*, a thousand, and *diva*, islands —there being upwards of that number all in a string. Others say that this word *Mal* is the proper name of the chief island, at which resides the king who is lord of all: that one is commonly called *Maldiva*, as though one should say the island of *Mal:* and as it is at the head of the group,[2] the rest are called after it.

"This string of islands, which runs like an extended diadem over against the coast of India, begins at the flats which we call

[1] Correa's *Lendas* extend from the first voyages of Diaz and da Gama to 1550; de Barros' *Decadas* from 1497 to 1539; de Couto's *Decadas* from 1529 to 1600; Castanheda's *History* from 1497 to 1550; Faria y Souza's *Asia Portugueza* from 1497 to 1640.

[2] Either de Barros was quite mistaken as to the situation of Málé, or believing the Maldives to extend to Java, as appears in the next sentence, he regards it as situate at the north end of the group. His observation below as to the language shows that he does not accurately distinguish the Maldives from the Laccadives.

the shoals of Padua, in the neighbourhood of Mount Delij, and ends at the land of Java and the coast of Sunda. This is seen in some of the sea charts of the Moors, for ours as yet describe them for only a distance of 300 leagues of their extent, beginning at those called by us the islands of Mamálle,[1] from the name of a Moor of Cannanor. This man was lord of the first section of them, distant from the Malabar coast about forty leagues, at the altitude of 12½ degrees north. The remainder, called *Candú* and *Adú*, 300 leagues off, are in 7½ degrees south. In the middle, as it were, of this 300 league diadem, is the capital island, Maldiva, as above stated, where resides the king, who is entitled lord of all the islands. The smaller islands are subordinate to the larger, so that some thirty or forty are governed by one, according to their situation: and this number of islands so grouped is called a *patána*.[2] And although the king, who is entitled lord of all, and the whole of the people are Gentiles, the governors are Moors—a circumstance which is a fruitful source of trouble; having secured the government of the mainland, by little and little, they have become lords of these islands too. They have managed this by first becoming farmers of the revenue on the mainland, and prin- J. de Barros.

[1] In the map referred to in the previous note the island *Mamale* appears as one of the Laccadives.

[2] In the note in vol. i, p. 94, it is stated, perhaps hastily, that *patana* is Sinhalese. It is in common use in Ceylon (middle *a* short), as I there state, for an open patch or stretch of grass among the hills. Mr. D. W. Ferguson of Colombo, in reviewing that vol. in the *Ceylon Observer*, has called my attention to the question. He quotes from Clough, *patan*, "a royal city, a town", and *patana*, "a town, a city, a seaport town", and other forms; also from Childers' *Páli Dict.*, *paṭṭanam*, "a port, a seaport". He suggests that the Ceylon use for a stretch of grass arose from a mistake of Dr. Davy, who writes thus of Nuwara Eliya: "We came to a great extent of open country . . . our guides called it Neuraelliya-pattan." Another suggestion, however, is that the word is a corruption of *pittaniya*, a meadow or lawn. All this is beside the question of the Portuguese application of *patána* to an atoll. If it ever was so used by the Maldivians it is now obsolete: and if, as it seems, the middle *a* was long, it cannot be connected with the above Sinhalese words. It is used, as will be seen hereafter, by one of the Maldive exiled kings, but then only in a Portuguese document, for the wording of which he is perhaps not responsible.

J. de Barros. cipally at the seaports. To this farming of the revenue they have added the administration of justice, thus better securing the revenues of the prince of the country. This position the Moors have not as yet obtained so firmly in the islands as on the continent.

"As regards their situation, though some of the larger islands are distant apart some five, ten, fifteen, or twenty leagues, the great majority are so close-set that they look like an orchard half inundated by a flood, equal parts of which are visible and concealed; and you can leap from one to another without wetting the feet, or else swing across by means of the branches of the trees. The currents of water collecting in the channels are so strong that the natives, when overtaken by a tide, as sometimes happens, cannot make the crossing they desire. And while many of these channels are so deep as to carry very large vessels, yet are they so narrow in some places that the yards will strike the palm trees.

"These palm trees do not yield dates, as do those of Barbary and all Africa, but a fruit of the size of a man's head. Before reaching the kernel, it has two husks, after the manner of nuts. The first, although on the outside, is quite smooth; beneath this is another all of fibre, which excels the *esparto*. The rope made from this fibre supplies the whole of India, and chiefly for cables, because it is more secure and stands the sea better than any made from hemp. The reason is that it agrees with the salt water, and becomes so tough that it seems like hide, contracting and expanding with the strength of the sea; so that a good thick cable of this rope, when the ship is standing at her anchor in a heavy gale and straining upon it, draws out so thin that you would think it could not hold a boat; when the vessel is pitching in a mere swell, it keeps its usual thickness. This coir is also used instead of bolts, for such virtue hath it of swelling and shrinking in the sea that they join the timbers of their ships' ribs with it, and consider it quite secure. True it is, these ships are not sailed through the furious gales of the Cape of Good Hope. The islanders make their voyages in avoidance of the winds, navigating only in the summer time during the monsoons, which are seasons of fair winds, regular in their direction, for three months

at a time; when the winter comes round, they do not go to sea. J. de Barros.

"This profitable fruit hath another shell of very hard substance, on the surface of which are seen the traces of the fibres and threads of the outer husk; it is like the pith of the cork tree, or, rather, like a nut shorn of its green shell. This shell, at the place where the fruit receives its vegetable nourishment—that is, at its lower end—is somewhat pointed, and resembles a nose between two round eyes. It is through these that the nut throws out its shoots when planted. Owing to this shape our countrymen call this nut *Coco*,[1] the name given by women to anything used to frighten their babes. This name has so stuck to it that no one knows it by any other. Its proper name, however, is *Tanga*[1] with the Malabars, and *Narle*[1] with the Canarins.

"The kernel within this second shell is about the size of a large quince, but of a different appearance, resembling the filbert in its outer surface and inner substance; it has, however, a hollow space within. It is of the same taste, but of greater bulk, and is more oily in its consistency than the filbert. Within the cavity is distilled some water, which is very sweet and cordial, principally when the nut is young. When the nut is planted, all this cavity in which the water was becomes a thick mass like cream, called *lanha*. It is very sweet and tasty, and better than almonds, when it thickens on the tree; and as this fruit in its substance and edibility is very like the almond or filbert, so, too, its outer surface is fawn-coloured, and its interior white.

"This nut and the palm which yields it have other profitable uses, ordained of God for the support and necessities of man, for besides those mentioned it supplies him with honey, vinegar, oil, and wine, and is itself a substantial food, either eaten alone or with rice, or served in other modes employed by the Indians in their cookery. Of the first outer husk is made coir, which, as we said, is in common and universal use for the ships of the whole East, after being soaked, beaten, and twisted like hempen rope. The palm trees also are used for timber, logs, and tiles, for the natives cover their houses with the leaves, which prevent any water getting in; these

[1] As to these names, see above, p. 372, *note*.

J. de Barros. also serve them for paper, and their *palmitos*[1] put them in no need of the *palmitos* of Barbary. In short, when a man of those parts has a pair of these palm trees he has everything necessary for existence; and when they wish to praise one for his benefactions, they are wont to say, 'He is more fruitful and profitable than a palm tree.'

"Besides these trees, which in those islands grow aboveground, it seems their seed is endowed by nature with such virtue that it has produced in some places beneath the salt water another species,[2] which yields a larger nut than the coco. The second shell of this nut is found by experience to be more efficacious against poison than the Bezoar[3] stone, which also comes from the East, growing in the stomach of an animal called by the Persians *Pazon*, whereof we have treated at large in the chapters of our *Commercio* upon antidotes.

"The commonest and most important merchandise at these islands, indeed, the cause of their being visited, is the coir; without it those seas cannot be navigated. There is also a kind of shellfish, as small as a snail, but differently shaped, with a hard, white, lustrous shell, some of them, however, being so highly coloured and lustrous that, when made into buttons and set in gold, they look like enamel. With these shells for ballast many ships are laden for Bengal and Siam, where they are used for

[1] The inner rind of the palm.

[2] The *coco de mer*. See vol. i, p. 230.

[3] The word *Bezoar* is a corruption of the Persian *pádzár*, "poison antidote", of which de Barros' *pazon* is a corruption: the animal referred to is the wild goat of Persia. For the history of the word see Yule's *Glossary*, and the *New Eng. Dict.* As an addition to the quotations given in these two works, I may observe that a false Bezoar stone gave occasion for the establishment of one of the great distinctions in our common law, viz., between actions founded upon contract, and those founded upon wrongs: *Chandelor* v. *Lopus* was decided in 1604 (reported in 2 *Croke*, and in Smith's *Leading Cases*). The headnote runs: "*The defendant sold to the plaintiff a stone, which he affirmed to be a Bezoar stone, but which proved not to be so. No action lies against him, unless he either knew that it was not a Bezoar stone, or warranted it to be a Bezoar stone.*" Chandelor, who was a goldsmith, "having skill in jewels and precious stones", had sold the worthless stone to Lopus for £100, a large sum in those days.

money, just as we use small copper money for buying things of little value. And even to this kingdom of Portugal, in some years as much as two or three thousand quintals are brought by way of ballast; they are then exported to Guinea, and the kingdoms of Benin and Congo, where also they are used for money, the Gentiles of the interior in those parts making their treasure of it. J. de Barros.

"Now the manner in which the islanders gather these shells is this:—they make large bushes of palm leaves tied together so as not to break, which they cast into the sea. To these the shell-fish attach themselves in quest of food; and when the bushes are all covered with them, they are hauled ashore and the creatures collected. All are then buried in the earth till the fish within have rotted away. The shells (*buzios* as we, and *Igovos* as the negroes, call them) are then washed in the sea; becoming quite white, and so dirtying the hands less than copper money. In this kingdom (Portugal) a quintal of them is worth from three to ten cruzados, according as the supply from India is large or small.

"These islands produce abundance of fish, of which great quantities of *moxama* are made. It is exported as merchandise to many quarters, and gives a good profit, as do also fish-oil, cocos, and jaggery, which last is made from the cocos in the same manner as sugar.

"The fabrics made by these islanders are silk and cotton, and no finer stuffs are made in all those parts. The principal manufactory is at the islands *Ceudú*[1] and *Cudú*,[2] where there are said to be better weavers than in Bengal or Coromandel. Yet all the silk and cotton, of which those stuffs are made, come to them from abroad, the islands lacking both these commodities, and also rice, whereof their whole supply is imported.

"They rear herds of sheep and cows,[3] but not sufficient for the supply of butter, which is brought from Ceylon and other parts, and yields the carriers a good profit.

"The people of these islands, with whom our countrymen have

[1] Hawadú or Suadiva Atoll, which is still famed for its weavers, both of cloth and mats. (Bell's *Report*, p. 88; and above, vol. i, p. 241.)

[2] Probably a printer's mistake for *Addú*.

[3] See above, vol. i, p. 116.

J. de Barros. come into contact, are dull, feeble, and malicious—qualities always found together, not only in the human race, but also in the brute creation, wherein is verified the paradox that a weak intellect is crafty in mischief.

"The higher classes dress in silk and cotton; the rest of the people make shift to weave themselves a clothing made from palmy leaves and herbs. They have a language of their own, though those nearest to the Malabar coast speak the language of that country; this is so chiefly at *Maldiva* island, where the king resides, because it is frequented by so many Malabars."

[The account of João de Cheira-Dinheiro at the Maldives, which here succeeds, has already been given above, at p. 476.]

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23. The description of the Maldives by De Barros has been advisedly placed in immediate sequence to the sketch of Portuguese relations with the islands during the first half of the sixteenth century. We are thus enabled to conclude this Appendix with a more pleasing episode in the history of their intercourse with European races.

The voyage of the two French ships, the *Pensée*[1] and the *Sacre*,[2] under the brothers Jean and Raoul Parmentier, has already been referred to in the Introduction to vol. i (pp. x, xi), as the second, if not the first, voyage made to the East by way of the Cape, in defiance of the Portuguese claims of exclusive right. Jean Parmentier had already made long voyages, including (it seems certain) one to America. Besides being a classical scholar and a poet, he was also a first-rate seaman. The expedition was thus well planned, the ships well found, and the crews well handled. But for the sad death of the gallant and accomplished commander at Ticou, in Sumatra, it might have been hoped that Parmentier would have roused his countrymen to further efforts, and have led to an earlier destruction of the monopoly in ocean routes.

The French ships left Dieppe on the 28th March 1529. They

[1] The *Pansy*.

[2] Fr. and Port. *sacre*, Eng. *saker*, a peregrine hawk, *falco sacer*. This Lat. term is a misnomer, arising from a fancy that *sacre* was a translation of the Gr. ἱέραξ. It is really, as Dozy has pointed out, the Ar. *ṣaqr*.

rounded the Cape in safety, and towards the latter end of September were in the neighbourhood of the Maldives. Let the chronicler of the voyage now tell his own tale[1]:— The Brothers Parmentier.

"On Sunday [19th September 1529] we made sail S.S.E. and S. with scant wind, believing these islands to be the archipelago near *Calecut* and *Commori*, which extends north and south.

"Monday, the 20th September, in the morning, were sighted six or seven islands on the W., the S.W. and the S. On taking our altitude at noon, it was found to be half a degree to the south of the Line. We endeavoured to fetch one of these islands, but the wind was contrary, and obliged us to stand off. Yet did we cease not until the Friday following [September 24th] to tack, so as to come up with some of them: but, when we approached, we found no anchorage. Then came contrary winds and rain. At length we found one green island, well planted with palms, about a league in length. Jean Masson in our little boat went ashore, as did also the boat of the *Sacre*. The people of the island gave them a good reception and presented some of their palm-fruits and long figs,[2] while the said Masson gave them some knives and mirrors, and other wares. They also gave him, as a present for the captain, a little chain artificially made of a single piece, which was bent double; and also sent to the captain, between two large leaves of trees, about two or three pounds of sugar-candy, called by them *Zagre*,[3] and made of the same palms, and also a quarter or half hundred balls of thick black sugar, which is made from the same sugar-candy, and the husk or envelope of the substance whereof the said sugar is composed.

"On the 25th died one of our mariners, by name *Jean François*. The same day our captain landed on the island with the two boats, well armed and equipped, and was honourably received by the

[1] The translation which follows is from the edition of M. Schefer, Paris, 1883. As will be seen, his reading of some of the names differs from the earlier edition of the voyage published in 1832 by M. Estancelin, in his *Navigateurs Normands*, and also from another copy, edited by M. Margry, in the *Bulletin of the Soc. Normande de Géographie for* 1883.

[2] Bananas, called by the Portuguese *figos da India*.

[3] Mald. *sakuru* or *hakuru*; *v. s.*, p. 411. Estancelin reads *lagre*, and Margry *saigre*.

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chief or arch-priest of the island, who came towards him kneeling as though he would kiss his hands, and presented a fine large lemon, quite round, like a big orange. The captain hastened to raise and embrace him, and made him a present of two pairs of knives, which he esteemed highly. The islanders climbed a number of coco palm-trees, and gave our people to drink of the water. Two or three others presented a few of the island lemons to our captain.

"In this island was a temple or mosque, a very ancient structure, composed of massive stone. The captain desired to see the inside as well as the outside, whereupon the chief priest bade them open it and entered within. The work pleased him greatly, and chiefly a woodwork screen, of ancient mouldings, the best he had ever seen, with a balustrade so neatly turned that our ship's carpenter was surprised to see the fineness of the work. The temple had galleries all around, and at the end a secret enclosure shut off by a wooden screen, like a *Sanctum Sanctorum*. The captain bade them open it, to see what was within, and whether there were any idols there, but he perceived nothing but a lamp formed of the coconut. The roof or vault of this temple was round in form, with a wainscoted ceiling covered with ancient painting. Hard by the temple was a *piscina*, or lavatory, flat bottomed, and paved with a black stone like marble, finely cut with ancient mouldings, and having all the appearance of massive workmanship. In another place, a little apart, was a kind of square well or fountain, six or eight feet deep, having within it a number of poles, each with a gourd at the end, wherewith the natives drew their water. This well also was flat bottomed, and paved with the same stone as the lavatory. In this island were many other similar fountains or wells, and also many small chapels and oratories in the same style as the great temple,[1]

[1] The only information as to remains at Fua Mulaku, the island referred to (*v. i.*, p. 490), is that given to Mr. Bell by resident natives, to the effect that there are still to be seen there "the jungle-covered ruins of a tope or *dágaba*, and amid these the stone image of a Buddha in the *sthánamudrá* or standing position. This tope is described as resembling the solid bell-shaped *dágabas*, rising from platforms, usual in Ceylon"

"The dwelling houses are quite small and miserably built: the people are small and thin, and the only women our men saw were old and emaciated, bald and poor-looking creatures. There was The Brothers Parmentier.

(*Report*, p. 75). It will be noticed that Parmentier says nothing of the image, but, on the contrary, says that the building shown contained none. The temple to which the Frenchmen were admitted may have been originally a Buddhist *vihâra* adapted to Moslem use; and so may the bathing-pond have been a Sinhalese *pokuna*, such as may be seen in great perfection of workmanship at Anurádhapura.

In further illustration of the objects of archæological interest which may still be found at the Maldives, I will insert here an extract from a MS. relation at Batavia of the voyage of Frederick de Houtman in 1598-9. The extract, headed "Short account of the adventures of Frederick de Houtman bound for action", was sent from Batavia by Mr. Van der Chys to Mr. Bell; it is translated by Mr. F. de Vos, of Galle, and has been revised (through the kind intervention of Mrs. Clements Markham) by Col. Jansen, of the Hague. If the MS. in its entirety (of which I have as yet no information) is a relation of the whole voyage of F. de Houtman, it is interesting on grounds hereafter stated. However that may be, the extract, so far as it goes, runs thus:—

"On the 1st June (1599) we fell among the Maldives . . . the small island close to which we lay had many beautiful buildings, most in ruins, very artfully built after their fashion. There appeared to be all sorts of temples and altars, which were all there in that small space, fully from ten to twelve: among them one specially of an ancient structure, all of blue-stone (lazulite), and round it also mouldings, basements, capitals (pillars), friezes, and their groovings (*tandeerzel*), on the steps of the entrance breastways: and what surprised me most was that all this was put together without any lime or building material; yet was everything so closely bound together by means of hewn grooves that the point of a knife could not be put between them, while at each corner a keystone held the entire work together.

"Round this temple was a rectangular wall, constructed with a broad walk around it, and outside this walk were also some walls built of stone which were dry, and among these one which appeared to be a tank. It was — feet measured round, entirely built of white stone, with stone steps leading to it. There was also hard by a crumbled pyramid, of which the basement or foundation was still to be seen. It was 12 feet square, and appeared to have been a beautiful work, for it seemed to have been made with mouldings round and hollow and square, with groovings all in proportion.

"All the temples stood east and west, the entrance being at the east.

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but little in the houses, whereby we judged that they had removed all their valuables, as also their young women and children, further into the interior of the island, fearing perhaps lest they

I thought it must have been a sacred place, as all these buildings stood close to each other. Moreover, we found nowhere on the whole of this island any buildings used as houses or showing any signs of having been used as habitations," etc.

If the island described is still uninhabited, there is good reason to hope that some of these interesting buildings may be preserved. It is, however, somewhat difficult—in the absence of any mention of names or bearings—to localise, much less to identify, the island. Some circumstantial evidence regarding the voyage may be of assistance, and this gives a peculiar interest to the passage extracted.

Frederick de Houtman left Flushing on the 15th March 1598, in command of the *Lioness*, his brother Cornelis, the leader of the expedition, being on board the *Lion*, on which ship also sailed our famous sailor, John Davis, as pilot.

Above, at vol. i, p. 31, I stated, before this extract came to hand, that no Dutch account of this voyage existed, and that Davis's letter to Lord Essex was the sole account of it extant. If the document from which the above passage is extracted proves to be a report of the voyage at large, that statement will no longer hold good.

Now, as Davis also mentions the visit to the Maldives, we should be able to localise the island described by F. de Houtman, if only we knew that the two vessels were in company at the time. But neither Davis nor F. de Houtman refers to the other's ship while at the Maldives: and the evidence points to the fact that they were not at this time in company. From Davis's account we gather that the *Lion* merely stood off an island, that the crew did not land, but that the island was inhabited, inasmuch as a pilot was obtained at it. There is also some difference in dates, Davis stating (*Voyages, Hak. Soc.*, p. 138) that his ship arrived at the Maldives on the 23rd May 1599, and left the island at which the pilot was taken on the 27th, while on the 3rd June she was off the coast of Cochin. Our extract above puts the arrival of the *Lioness* at the uninhabited island on the 1st June.

While, therefore, it seems that the two ships were not together at the Maldives, they may have been so nearly in company as to strike the same channel. As to the route of the *Lion*, Davis's letter leaves us in no doubt. In the passage of the channel he gives his latitude as 4° 15′ N., which identifies the channel as that of *Kardiva*. Possibly, therefore, F. de Houtman's island may be found somewhere on the borders of this channel. When the MS. in full comes to hand from Batavia, some reference to latitude in the context may decide.

should be seized by force. This was probably done at the advice of the chief priest, who was a man of much discretion and knowledge, as was seen by what ensued. For while we were there, a little strife had arisen between the captain and the Portuguese sailors of the *Sacre*, the said Portuguese asserting to the mariners that this island was one of the *Maldive* islands. This, however, could not be so, for we were then at ½ degree south, while the Maldive islands extend from the 7th to the 17th degree north of the equator: whereupon our captain told him that he was wrong. But the other, persisting in his opinion, said he was right, and proposed that they should enquire the fact of the chief priest, who replied that the name of the island was *Moluque*,[1] and that the *Maldive* islands were fully 200 leagues north of that island.[2] Nevertheless, I have since seen in a Portugal chart that these islands south of the line are called *Maldiva*. Moreover, this chief priest showed the captain in what quarters lay the countries of *Adam*,[3] *Persia*, *Ormus*, *Calicut*, *Zeilan*,[4] *Moluque*,[5] and *Sumatra*, and proved himself to be both learned and well travelled. He was very devout, modest, and amiable, of middle height, white-bearded, apparently about 45 to 50 years of age; his name was *Brearou Leacàïru*.[6] Meanwhile, our people took supplies of water, and the captain paid the natives handsomely for their coco-nuts and long green figs, which were loaded in the boats. He then took his leave and withdrew his men to the boats in order to return to the ship, which was plying off and on, in default of any

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[1] *Fua Mulaku*, a solitary island in 0° 17′ S., not to be confounded with Mulaku Atoll, which is farther north. The chronicler above states that just before landing at this island they were in ½° S. latitude.

[2] The chief must have understood the Frenchmen to ask for the Málé Atoll.

[3] Estancelin and Margry read *Dam*.

[4] Estancelin and Margry read *Zela*.

[5] Probably the Moluccas; but Estancelin and Margry read *Melaque*, which would likely mean Malacca.

[6] Estancelin and Margry read *Orquarou Leacarou*. Neither seems to be right. The second word, however, almost certainly should be *Tacarou*, for M. *Takuru*; see vol. i, pp. 96, 208.

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anchorage at the island. The people there call God *Allah*.[1] The same evening after supper we sailed S.E. ¼ S., close-hauled to the wind.

"On the 26th our altitude, on being taken at noon, was found to be ⅔ of a deg. south," etc.

[1] So Estancelin; Margry, however, states that the text reads *Aillat*.

B.

NOTICES OF THE EXILED KINGS OF THE MALDIVES.

In the course of his narrative Pyrard makes reference on several occasions to the family of titular Kings of the Maldives who resided in India under Portuguese protection. By the aid of the Portuguese archives at Lisbon and Goa, supplemented by other authorities, we are enabled to follow the fortunes of these exiled royalties during the century which elapsed between the revolution that cost them their throne and the death of the last representative of this legitimist line. They were in no sense Portuguese captives, for the first exile lost his throne fairly enough in an internal revolution, and threw himself upon the protection of the Portuguese. When he afterwards became a Christian and married a Portuguese wife, he forfeited any chances of restoration that might have been hoped from a counter-revolution. The Portuguese, after one endeavour to replace him, saw that it was impossible to impose a Christian king upon the Maldivians, and thereafter merely used the family claims as a lever to enforce the necessary supply of coir for their fleets. The individual princes on their part eked out inglorious, and not always reputable, lives as pensioners in the foreign land of which by intermarriages they became half-citizens. Somewhat similar cases have occurred in the history of British India; and the despatches quoted before would probably find their counterpart in many filed in the Foreign Departments of our Indian Presidencies.

Pyrard, whose account is founded upon the tradition of his time, relates that, about fifty years before, a certain King Hasan,[1] being hard pressed by a rival, was "inspired of God to quit all",

[1] According to tradition, still current, this Hasan, whose Maldive name was *Hasan Dobulá Fárumá*, was the son of a Sultan Yúsub; his rival's name was *Alí*.

and secretly departed to Cochin with his wife and certain of his family. From the date of his conversion, which took place in 1552, we shall be not far wrong in assuming that the revolution occurred in 1550 or 1551. When he became a Christian he was twenty years of age, a fact which seems to indicate that youth may have been his chief incapacity. However that may be, he was baptised a Christian under the name of Dom Manoel, and it is noteworthy that he was received into the Church by no less a personage than the Apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier.

The Jesuit historian Bartoli, one of the people of importance in their day with whom Mr. Browning has "parleyings", thus relates the conversion (*Asia*, iii, 201-2) :—"There sprang up, I know not why, between the Maldivians and their Lord, a youth of twenty years, discord and war, and he, finding himself unable to withstand the force of the conspiracy, saved his life, though he could not his kingdom, by flight to Cochin, where he trusted to obtain his re-instatement by aid of the Portuguese arms. The fathers received him into their house; and, by the example of their living, which is ever a more potent influence than words, and by that which S. Francis Xavier, who opportunely arrived there, told him of God—and more, that which the saint told God of him, praying Him to give him that spirit whereby a new realm would be gained to the Church—at length the saint conquered, and having instructed him as far as needful in the divine mysteries, solemnly baptised him."[1] Padre Lucena says that this conversion "filled with joy the whole of India, exciting hopes that after the head, all the members would be converted."[2]

[1] St. Francis arrived at Cochin from Malacca on the 24th January 1552, and left for Goa at the beginning of February, and probably had little to do with the conversion and catechising of the Maldive king, which were managed by Padre Antonio Heredia (F. N. Xavier, *Res. Hist.*, p. 175). Bartoli and other Jesuit writers, however, claim for the Apostle of the Indies the lion's share of the credit. Crétineau-Joly goes so far as to say that St. Francis succeeded where Heredia had failed (*Hist. de la Comp. de Jésus*, i, 238). See also Bouhours, *Vie de S. François Xavier*, 1682, 4to., p. 462.

[2] *Vida de Fran. Xav.*, lib. ix, c. 15.

The Rev. H. Coleridge adds that "this king was a witness to one of Francis's miraculous elevations in the air while saying Mass" (*Life and Letters of S. Franc. Xav.*, ii, 65). It would seem that the king submitted to conversion as a means of gaining Portuguese support, the Jesuits of Cochin promising their aid. "Some of the fathers," continues Bartoli, "were then ready to sail with a Portuguese armada, and with the converted king, to the Maldives, and, as soon as he should be re-instated, to reduce the inhabitants to the Faith. But because in the interests of the Crown of Portugal it was not worth while to have these islands tributary, being poor in spices and gold, the Governors of India were not inclined to give the King effectual aid." The expedition was, nevertheless, sent, but on terms, as Pyrard states, that Dom Manoel should not accompany it.

The first expedition was, as Pyrard relates, disastrous to the Portuguese: but in the second, probably about 1554, they took Málé, after a battle in which the rival king Ali was slain. Experiencing the difficulties attending the subjection of the whole of the scattered kingdom, they prudently assembled the chiefs for a conference, at which it was arranged that the islands should be governed by a native regent, who should be subject to the control of the Portuguese commandant, and who should rule in the name of the exiled king, Dom Manoel. This condition of affairs was adhered to for upwards of ten years. At this period the Maldivians again rose in rebellion, and, under the leadership of the two noble brothers, the elder of whom was the father of the Sultan of Pyrard's time, succeeded, with the aid of a party of Malabars, in taking the Portuguese fort and putting its occupants to the sword (*supra*, vol. i, p. 248).

During the ten years of Portuguese occupation it seems that Dom Manoel was enabled, by the treaty arrived at with the native chiefs, to exercise to some extent his sovereign rights. In the archives of Goa is still preserved a copy of certain letters patent granted by him to Manoel da Silveira d'Araújo, bestowing upon him the privilege of three voyages to the Maldives as chief captain. The document, including the titles of the grantor, is couched in the approved language of Portuguese officialism:—

"Dom Manoel, by the grace of God King of the Maldive islands, and of the three *patanas* of Cuaydu, and of the seven islands of Pullobay, of the conquest and navigation of all the coasts of Sumatra, and of the Strait of Manacuma, etc.,—To all to whom this my letter shall be shown, I make known and give to understand that as of right I think fit and am hereby pleased to grant unto Manoel da Silveira d'Araujo, Cavalier fidalgo of the household of the King of Portugal, three voyages as chief captain to my Maldive islands, in like manner as to preceding chief captains, with the customary gains and profits thereof, which voyages he may enter upon after Jorge de Sousa Pereira, now captain of this city of Cochin, shall have made and concluded the two voyages which he purchased for money from Janebra de Torres, formerly wife of Bastião Rebelo, and now with God, and which he shall have in precedence of all others. I think fit, therefore, that the said Manoel da Silveira shall have these three, which I now grant, before any other person to whom the like grant shall be made (saving only the two purchased by Jorge de Sousa from the said widow, the same being within my grant), having respect to the fact that he slew the robber of Baura,[1] who assumed the title of king of the islands, and dispossessed me of my realm and estate, to which I should hardly have been restored, had not the said Manoel da Silveira killed him and dealt with him so valiantly as he did, as also all the rest concerned in the rebellion, whom also he slew: all which deeds cost him much trouble and blood of his own body with five deadly spear-wounds which crippled him, and which he received in battle with the said king and rebels:—as also for other services which he has done me and which I hope he may still in the future do. . . ." [He then proceeds to say that these three voyages and the two of Jorge de Sousa are to come at the end of the lease of the island trade which he has granted to one Anrique de Sousa, and concludes:]—"And I hereby command my regents and officers in the said islands that they receive and obey this letter without the exaction of any duty or tax whatever. Given in the city of Santa Cruz of Cochin under my seal. Ruy

[1] His rival Ali, who was a native or chief of the island *Bára*, in Tiladummati Atoll.

Correa wrote this the twenty-fifth of June, in the year of the birth of our Lord Jesu Christ one thousand five hundred and sixty years." The document is approved, sealed, and registered by the Viceroy at Goa, under date 24th Sept. 1561.[1]

Pyrard states that when Dom Manoel fled to Cochin he took his Maldive wife with him, and that she too became a Christian. According to Bartoli, he married "a noble Portuguese lady", whose name does not transpire. Nothing more is heard of the Maldive wife, and, whether she had any children or not, it is probable that the only children recognised by the Portuguese were those of the second marriage. His family consisted of three sons, Dom Francisco, Dom João, and Dom Pedro, and some daughters. The eldest son, Dom Francisco, seems to have resided at Cochin with his father till about the year 1581. We learn from a despatch of the King of Spain to the Viceroy, date 15th Feb. 1583,[2] that the Prince had written to request that his servants, Pero and João Garces, should be appointed respectively clerk of the factory and accountant of orphans at Cochin. The king directs that they should be so appointed for the space of three years from the next vacancies of those offices; but this is to be done only if the appointments do not of right belong to the town, and in that case some similar offices may be given to the applicants. It was probably soon after that letter to the King of Spain, or about the year 1582, that Dom Francisco proceeded to Europe, where he was stabbed to death in a street brawl at Lisbon,[3] but, owing to the loss of most of the royal despatches prior to 1585, we are without information as to the circumstances.

Dom Manoel seems to have made repeated requests to the King of Spain for his re-instatement,[4] but the viceroys set their

[1] *Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 5, No. 350.

[2] *Op. cit.*, Fasc. 3, No. 2.

[3] Bartoli, *loc. cit.*; Maffei (*Hist. Ind.*, lib. xv; F. de Sousa (*Or. Conq.*, C i, D i, § 67). The last-mentioned writer gives 1581 as the date of his death; but this must be an error, as the India Office at Lisbon evidently believed him to be alive in Feb. 1583.

[4] *E.g.*, *Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 3, No. 9.

faces against any further expeditions to the islands, and seem not to have communicated to him the king's replies to his letters. Thus, "ever hoping to regain his own, he lived and grew old in privacy at Cochin; and finally, after the disgraceful end of his son, who was stabbed to death at the Court of Spain, in great affliction died."[1] The death of Dom Manoel can only be approximately fixed as having taken place in 1583. Assuming that Bartoli and Pyrard are right as to his age when he came to Cochin, he was but little over fifty at his death. Whatever be the exact date of Dom Manoel's death, the news of it had reached Lisbon by the beginning of 1585, for on the 11th February of that year the King of Spain directs the viceroy, Dom Duarte de Menezes, to condole with the queen on the death of her husband, and to make proper provision for her and her daughters.[2]

The heir-apparent, Dom Francisco, having been killed at Lisbon, Dom Manoel was now succeeded in the titular sovereignty of the Maldives by his second son, Dom João. This prince gave the Portuguese much trouble. In a despatch dated the 10th Jan 1587, the king thus addresses the viceroy: "I regret to be informed by your letter of the unruly behaviour of the King of the Maldives, and the trouble he has given in the city of Cochin where he is. I recommend you to correct his follies as they may display themselves, and to give orders that he may gather his revenues, provided he pays into my treasury 500 *bahars* of coir, as his father always did. And as you say that it would be convenient for my service to collect the revenues of these islands through the controller of the treasury at Cochin, and for me to pay to the king his share, you will inform me what amount of coir you have taken into my treasury for the use of the navy as well as for the ships repaired there, for which compensation should be made to him."[3]

Again, on the 28th Jan. 1588: "The king of the islands, in a letter he has written to me, complains of the inhabitants of the city of Cochin as not paying him due respect; and as

[1] Bartoli, *Asia*, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 3, No. 9, § 22.

[3] *Op. cit.*, No. 23, § 24.

informed of his follies and unruly conduct, which perhaps may be the cause of his treatment, I recommend you to remedy this in such manner as may leave no ground for complaint, and to warn him as to his follies, so that he shall demean himself according to his duties. As to his applications, I gave orders last year, as well as this, that he must send them to you, that so, aided by your information, I may send such replies as may be conducive to my interests."[1]

As time went on the young prince did not improve his conduct, and on the 6th February 1589 the king writes as follows:—

"I am informed by you that the King of the Islands has married a sister of Antonio Teixeira de Macedo,[2] who went from this kingdom in your company with the orphans, and that he has done so against your opinion: further, that owing to his excesses and misconduct in the married state, you did not give him the letter I directed to him by the armada of 1587, and that you thought it would be prejudicial to my service to correspond with him, unless he greatly mended his ways. In view of what you write I think it well done on your part not to have delivered my letter, and that you ought to endeavour to train this king, who, as you know, is very young, in all the affairs of my service, and also in those which will be serviceable to himself, in order that he may know how to govern well."[3]

On the 22nd February of the same year, 1589, the king again

[1] *Op. cit.*, No. 34, § 12.

[2] This captain arrived at Goa in command of the *Sta. Cruz* in September 1591; he returned in command of the same ship on the 10th January 1592, but was attacked at the Azores by the English; his ship was burnt and the crew escaped on shore. He came out to India again in 1593, in command of the *S. Christovão*, and left in her again early in 1594. She reached Mozambique with great difficulty, but being unable either to proceed or put back to India, she was abandoned, the crew being saved by another ship. Teixeira was then put in command of a new ship, built at Bassein, the *Madre de Dios*, wherein he left Goa on the 15th January 1595: this was probably his last voyage, for this ill-fated vessel was lost near C. Delgado, on the coast of Mozambique, all except sixteen hands perishing in the sea or on the inhospitable shore. (De Couto, *Dec. XI*, ch. xiv, xxvii, xxxi, xxxiv.)

[3] *Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 3, No. 57, § 22.

writes: "The King of the Islands wrote by the ships of the past year, complaining that the Moors of Cannanor are absolute lords of the said islands, and that they gather their whole produce: and that Nicoláo Petro, the Controller of the Treasury of Cochin, did not answer his protests with becoming respect, and in general complained that he was treated with scant courtesy. To this letter I thought it not fit to reply, seeing that you had informed me by letter of 23rd of November 1587 that he had married a sister of Antonio Teixeira de Macedo, who had gone from this kingdom in your company with the orphans, and was behaving in such manner and with such excesses that you had not thought it to my service to deliver to him the letter which I wrote to him that year. Wherefore I do not write to him by these despatches. And since I have already caused a despatch to be written to you requesting you to endeavour to train him in the affairs of my service, and the duties incumbent upon one in his position and of his name, I desire again to recommend this to you, and to request you to favour him when any reasonable opportunity occurs, at the same time giving him to understand that, owing to the bad reports which I have had of him, I do not think fit to reply to him, yet that I have given you instructions as above."[1]

This letter of paternal instruction is followed by another on the 8th March of the same year: "Dom João, King of the Maldive islands, has sent me a message to the effect that you have, in my name, awarded to Dona Francisca de Vasconellos,[2] his wife, who proceeded from this kingdom as one of the orphans in the year 1584, a pension of 500 pardáos annually for her life, to be received by her out of the tribute of the islands, which he is obliged to pay into my treasury, with a declaration that you will get this award confirmed by me within three years. He begs me that, having respect to his marriage with the said Dona Francisca, I shall be pleased to confirm the same, and further to increase the pension by 200 cruzados annually, in order to enable his wife to maintain herself suitably to her position. Inasmuch as in your

[1] *Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 3, No. 62, § 10.

[2] She appears to have dropped the name of Vasconellos when she married: in one despatch the king calls her by both names.

letters of the past year, 1588, you do not mention the letter which I directed to be written to you, as to his misconduct towards his said wife, and as to his behaviour not being conformable to his duties and to the obligations of his rank, I deem it undesirable to yield to his request without information from you as to his present conduct; on receipt of such information I shall reply as befits my service. Until then, I think he should have the 500 pardáos which you have ordered to be paid for his wife's provision."[1]

There is no further reference to the Maldive family in the despatches until the 12th January 1591, by which time it seems the young princes had removed from Cochin to Goa. The king now writes to the viceroy, Mathias d'Albuquerque: "He (*i.e.*, the preceding governor, M. de Sousa Coutinho) also writes that he had recently caused to be arrested at Goa the King of the Islands [Dom João] and the prince his brother [Dom Pedro] for the commission at Cochin and elsewhere of great crimes, meriting exemplary punishment, wherewith he has scandalized the whole of India; and that for a long time that king had quitted his wife; and that when he [the governor] sought to proceed against them, and to carry into execution such judgment as the High Court (*Rellação*) of Goa should award, the judges intervened, saying that he could not do so before first giving me notice thereof, and that he therefore suspended proceedings until I gave such order as befitted my service: which was proper in consideration of the quality of the persons,—on which account, and on others, I approve of the suspension of execution on that king and his brother, although their misdeeds merit natural death, and I ordain that they be kept in prison separately and securely until my further pleasure be known, and that their indictments and the sentence upon them be sent to me with the despatches, that so I may see them and give such order as befits my service. I also confirm to the wife of the said king the 500 *pardáos* which the Viceroy Dom Duarte gave in my name, and direct you to give her as pension 200 more, making in all 700 *pardáos* a year on my account. This

[1] *Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 3, No. 64, § 9.

I direct out of respect to the information which I have of her necessities and upon other grounds."[1]

What decision the Court of Spain, or, rather, the *Casa da India*, came to upon the case does not appear. By the next despatch referring to the princes, viz., that of 13th February 1597, it appears that during the intervening years they had been kept in honorary confinement at Goa, and that they were constantly demanding their freedom, and leave to return to Cochin. The King of Spain, however, directs that 'they be kept at Goa under the immediate surveillance of the viceroy.[2] The same orders are repeated in the despatch of 21st November 1598, addressed to the viceroy, Dom Francisco da Gama, wherein the king refers to the misdeeds of the brothers, formerly committed at Cochin, as having been "so outrageous and scandalous that it were better not to speak of them".[3]

Owing, perhaps, to the hiatus which exists between the royal despatches contained in the Goa collection (*Archivo Portuguez Oriental*) and the Lisbon collection (*Livro das Monções*), now in course of publication, which commences with the year 1605, we cannot fix the date of the death of the titular king, Dom João. It had occurred before the beginning of 1606, when the Portuguese, Dom Adrian de Gouveia, went to the Maldives: as we learn from Pyrard that this personage was the ambassador of the young king, Dom Filippe,[4] whom our traveller afterwards, 1608-9, met at Goa as a youth of fifteen. Gouveia's embassy bore no fruits, and its failure probably led the young king to write to the King of Spain a letter bearing date 18th December 1606, the contents of which we learn from the recital in the king's reply of 10th December 1607 (*Liv. das Monç*, i, 147). He complains that the revenues from the islands, which in the time of his grandfather, Dom Manoel, and his father, Dom João, had amounted to 18,000 xeraphins, were now, owing to the negligence of the viceroys, reduced to 5,000; he begs the king to give him an

[1] *Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 3, No. 76, § 21.
[2] *Op. cit.*, No. 244, § 10.
[3] *Op. cit.*, No. 365, § 29.
[4] See vol. i, pp. 293-4; vol. ii, p. 139.

honorary office, with the pay thereof, in order to maintain his position, and asks for his retainers four habits of the Order of Christ, with such pension as may seem fit to the king; for a marriage portion to his sister Dona Inez, he asks one of the fortresses, Sofala or Ormuz.[1] He further seeks that orders be given that no captain or *vedor da fazenda* or other officials of Cochin, or elsewhere in Malabar, "under pain of chastisement and suspension from office", be permitted to enquire into the merchandise brought from the islands by his vassals, and that the viceroy should equip an armada to bring the islands into greater obedience, that so he may acquire a greater revenue, and otherwise that he may be excused from further paying tribute under the treaty made with his grandfather. His mother, at the same time, in consideration of the services of her father, Jeronymo Teixeira de Macedo, asks for a voyage (*i.e.*, the privilege of sending a ship on private account) from China to Japan. It is characteristic of the failure of the Portuguese to administer India effectively from Lisbon in those days, that the king's reply, dated a whole year after the petition, is simply a request for information as to the facts and for the viceroy's opinion as to the best course to adopt, and an instruction to keep the exiled prince quiet in the meantime.[2]

The petition referred to was ultimately answered by the despatch of 4th November 1609, after the receipt of the requisite information from the Archbishop Menezes, then Governor of India. Dom Filippe is to get one habit of Christ, and therewith a pension of 150 *pardáos*, payable out of the Courts of Ceylon. Dona Inez,

[1] See vol. ii, Introd., p. xxxi.

[2] The *Casa da India* at Lisbon had endeavoured to introduce the system maintained even in these more rapid times, in our India and Colonial offices, of requiring all letters and petitions to the Crown to come through the local government, by which they are forwarded home with all materials necessary for coming to a decision. But the Portuguese officials of those days, as indeed the correspondence shows, could not be trusted as a channel of communication. Petitioners were obliged to send their requests direct, or as best they could, and the chances were that some eighteen months afterwards a despatch would arrive at Goa, asking for information.

his sister, is to be married to a fidalgo of quality, and to have as her portion one of the Canara fortresses, that is to say, her appointed husband is to have the captaincy of such fortress for three years. As to his complaints about the revenue, the king recommends that the *vedor da fazenda* at Cochin be directed to take from the Maldive consignments only so much coir as is required for the public service, and to leave all the rest to the king, Dom Filippe, and that the viceroy should write to *Adarrajao* (Ali Raja of Cannanor) not to meddle with the islands and property belonging to Dom Filippe, and that if the viceroy thinks proper he may send two or three *fustas* to induce greater obedience on the part of Filippe's vassals, who at the same time are to be coaxed to do their duty rather than punished, as the latter course would only have the effect of estranging them. Lastly, the pension of the queen-mother, Dona Francisca, is to be raised from 700 *pardáos* per annum to 1,000, but without the grant of a voyage.[1]

As has been said, Pyrard made the acquaintance of Dom Filippe and his mother while at Goa (1608-10). They were then lodged in a fine house near the Jesuits' College, where he frequently visited them and entertained them with his talk about the Maldives. At that time, he says, there was a lawsuit pending in the Courts of Goa between the young king and his uncle, Dom Pedro, who resided at Cochin. This prince was married to a half-caste lady of good birth and considerable property; so that he was well off, irrespective of his share of the Maldive tribute, which seems, however, to have been the subject of the litigation.[2]

The king's despatch of November 1609 would, in ordinary course, arrive at Goa in May or June 1610, some months after Pyrard left. On being communicated to the young prince and his mother its terms were not acquiesced in. She pressed for the voyage to China, and he for a powerful armada to be sent to the Maldives. On these demands being made to Lisbon, the king replies on the 28th March 1612, that Dom Filippe is to have 200

[1] *Liv. das Monç*, i, 261-64.

[2] *V. s.*, vol. i, pp. 293-4; vol. ii, p. 139.

milreis pension with his habit of Christ; that the fortress of Daman, instead of one of Canara, is to be given for three years to the man who marries his sister, Dona Inez; that the pension of Dona Francisca is to be paid in silk, as she requests; that further pressure be put upon the Raja of Cannanor not to meddle with Dom Filippe's affairs; and that a trustworthy agent be sent to the *de facto* King of the Maldives to induce him, by threats of invasion, to a better fulfilment of the treaty; and, finally, that the captains and officials of Cochin and Malabar are not to issue passports on their own account for trade to the Maldives, as, by the queen mother's complaint, has been done.[1]

The forthcoming volumes of the *Livro das Monções* may give some further particulars of the life of the young half-caste king. Meantime, the next notice of him at present available is found in the letters of the Roman traveller, Pietro della Valle, who, while at Goa in 1623, thus describes the feast of St. John the Baptist:—

"The 24th June. For the feast of St. John, according to annual custom, the Viceroy issued forth with many other Portuguese gentlemen on horseback, in masquerading dress, but without masques, two and two attired alike, or three and three. After hearing Mass at the Church of St. John, they proceeded down St. John's Street, which they are wont to call *La Carriera de Cavalli*, it being the finest open space in Goa. Here, after many companies of Canarin Christians had passed with their banners, drums, and arms, many of them leaping and playing along the street, with their naked swords in their hands, all being on foot, at length all the cavaliers on horseback ran two careers, one downwards from St. Paul's Church toward the city, the other upwards; running matches, two and two or three and three, according to their similar attire, with their Moorish lances, and at last all came marching down from St. Paul in order. Which done, they all proceeded to the piazza of the Vicerov's palace, where the festival ended.

"I went to see this sight in the said street of St. Paul, at the

[1] *Livro das Monções*, ii, 258; *Arch. Port. Or.*, Fasc. 6, No. 451, 452. It appears from the documents directing the investiture at Goa, that the prince was not admitted to the order of Christ till June 1618.

house of one whom they call the King of the *Maldiva* or *Maladiva* islands, which are an innumerable number of very small islets, almost all in one long, wide belt, joined together on the western side, not very far from the coast of India. Of these islands an ancestor of this man was actually king, but being driven from his country by his own people, he betook him to the Portuguese, and became a Christian, in the hope of getting back to his own country and reigning there with their aid. But the Portuguese taking no steps in his behalf, he and his descendants remained thenceforth deprived of their kingdom, and with the empty title alone, which the Portuguese, having formed connections with them, still preserve to them; and since a number of merchant vessels come from these islands to the Portuguese ports, they compel them to pay a little tribute, as it were, to their legitimate lord, who thus (albeit the harbour officials, through whom the transaction is necessarily conducted, appropriate more than one-half) draws at the present day about 3,000 crowns, and therewith supports himself.

"Similar fortune has befallen many other princes in India, who, trusting to the Portuguese, have found themselves deluded. In this matter good policy has been but little observed by the Portuguese, because by this mode of conduct they have discouraged all the rest from having confidence in them; whereas, had they assisted and protected them in earnest, as they ought and might easily and cheerily have done on many fair opportunities, they would at this day have had the fealty and love of all India; while they themselves would in consequence, with the strength and aid of their friends, have been much more powerful than they are, and would have been incomparably more dreaded by their enemies."[1]

Dom Filippe seems to have gone on demanding from the Court of Spain active support towards, not his reinstatement, but the more punctual and full payment of his revenues. At length, in 1631, according to Resende,[2] or more probably in 1632, according to the letters which, prior to the despatch of the armada, passed between the Maldive prince and the viceroy,[3] the Spanish goverп-

[1] Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi*, parte 3a, Lettera iii (Brighton ed., vol. ii, p. 696).

[2] *Sloane MS.* 197, fol. 377.

[3] Given in the notes to *Livro das Monções*, i, 148-54.

ment ordered the viceroy to send a force to the islands.[1] The armada, consisting of fifteen ships, under the command of Domingos Ferreyra Belliago, the chief captain of Canara, was despatched in the month of April, and sailed direct for Male. "But the King of the Maldives was advised of the coming of the armada, and when it arrived he was well fortified, and the only entrance to the island was stopped up with ships filled with stones, so that it was impossible for ships to enter by it, and more impossible to enter by any other way, because the whole island is encircled by rocks and reefs, as may be seen by the plan with the mode of the fortification. The said armada, for some days, fired upon it with cannon, and then seeing it was impossible to force an entrance, and that the time spent was all wasted, returned to Goa."[2]

Some member of the force made a drawing at Resende's request, and from that he prepared the coloured plan of which a copy is given opposite. Leave had been given to Dom Filippe to accompany this expedition, but he made various excuses, such as that he objected to be under the control of the chief captain, and that he could not bear to see the havoc that would be made among "his subjects" by the Portuguese soldiery.[3]

The last mention of Dom Filippe is made by the bare-footed Carmelite monk, Philippus a Sanctâ Trinitate, who was at Goa, 1631-1639:—"He was of a middling colour, that is, somewhat dark and tanned, after the black skin of his father, with some of the whiteness of his mother. I have often visited and talked with him, and it was arranged that he should come to Europe with me,

[1] The year is given by Resende, both at fol. 377 and in the writing upon the Maldive plan, as 1631. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the letters given in the *Livro das Monções* are correctly dated, and in them there is no mention of any expedition in the previous year.

[2] Resende MS., *loc. cit.*

[3] The documents given in the *Liv. das Monç.*, i, 147, are as follows:—20 Jan. 1632 (Dom Filippe to the Viceroy); same date (Viceroy's reply); 24 Jan. 1632 (Dom Filippe to the Viceroy); same date (Viceroy's reply); same date (certificate of Izidoro de Lemos da Mesquita, Secretary of State, to the effect that permission to accompany the expedition had been given under proper conditions).

for he believed that by his presence he could obtain of the King of Spain what he failed to get by letters, seeing, as he saw, that either the commands were not efficacious or that he was mocked in India. He had not much revenue, for only some of the islands persevered in acknowledging his sovereignty. He also died while yet young and unmarried, leaving as his successor a nephew on his sister's side; though his father's brother, in reliance upon the laws and customs of the kingdom and the acceptance of the people, claimed the throne as rightfully his. When I left Goa the law-suit was still afoot, and there was no settled king of these islands."[1]

The end of the family of exiled Maldive kings is related by F. de Sousa[2]:—"The last King of the Maldives was Dom Luis de Sousa,[3] who, on the 22nd October 1653, attempted, with other fidalgos, to depose the Viceroy, Dom Vasco Mascarenhas, Conde de Obidos; for which cause he was imprisoned at Mormugão until the 10th November 1655, in the viceroyalty of Dom Rodrigo Lobo da Silveyra, Conde de Sarzedas. For the same cause he was sent a prisoner to Portugal in the ship *Nossa S. da Graça*, in the year 1656. The ship was dismasted in a storm off the Cape of Good Hope; it put back to Mozambique, but, before reaching port, the king was dead. He left no legitimate successor, and named the King of Portugal as his heir to the 11,000 islands."

As has been stated above, we are without knowledge of the exact terms of the original treaty with the Maldives after the war described by Pyrard, and how far the Portuguese bound themselves to active support of the exiled king; but it would seem from the foregoing summary that the treatment of the exiled family at Cochin and Goa, for more than a century, was on the whole marked with forbearance and humanity.

[1] Lat. ed., 1649, p. 98; Fr. ed., 1652, p. 226.

[2] *Oriente Conquistado*, C. 1, D. 1, p. 67.

[3] Probably the son of the fidalgo who married Dom Filippe's sister, Dona Inez.

C.

THE HISTORY OF KUNHÁLI,[1] THE GREAT MALABAR CORSAIR.

ALTHOUGH the story of Kunháli, as shortly given by Pyrard,[2] is generally accurate, it differs in some respects from the fuller account given by the official historian, De Couto, and from that of Faria y Souza, and, as will naturally happen when a narrative is compiled from the reminiscences of casual informants, the dates are sometimes wrong. The detail in which De Couto recounts the operations against the great corsair attests the importance attributed by the Portuguese to the reduction of the fortress, and Pyrard's episodical account, in like manner, shows how the story of the brave Kunháli was in everyone's mouth, and how, with all his cruelties and robberies, he had achieved the posthumous fame of a hero. It may be advisable, therefore, to supplement the traveller's narrative with a *résumé* of this episode in Portuguese-Indian history, so far as it can be traced in the writings of the time.[3]

During the viceroyalty of Dom Antonio de Noronha (1571-3) Kunháli[4] the elder (uncle of the great corsair), who was then a

[1] The 11th *Decada* of De Couto being lost, the above reference is to the substituted volume compiled from contemporary historians by the editor of the Lisbon edition of 1778. The topographical information given below as to the condition of the Kunháli's fort at the present day, and the details of the family, are drawn from notes of Mr. W. Logan, which he courteously wrote at Mr. Bell's invitation, having taken the trouble to visit the place for the purpose.

[2] See vol. i, pp. 351-56.

[3] See De Couto, *Dec. XI*, cap. xiii, xiv, xxxv; *Dec. XII*, liv. I, cap. i-iii, vii-x, xvii, xviii; liv. II, cap. ii-x; liv. III, cap. xi; liv. IV, cap. i-xi; Stevens' *Faria y Souza*, vol. iii, pp. 96-116.

[4] Kunháli, i.e., *Kunhi*, a youth, a term of endearment, a title as here, and *'Ali*. It is a title, not a proper name. This Mâppilla family set

native of Kurichchi,[1] cast his eyes upon the neighbouring port of Putu paṭṭanam[2] as a place well adapted for a rover's stronghold. The permission of the Samorin was obtained, and Kunháli, with his kindred and associates, proceeded to build the fortress, afterwards known as "Kunháli's fort", and, according to Pyrard, Marcaire costè (*Márakkár Kóṭṭá.*)[3]

Shortly before reaching the sea the *Koṭṭa* river takes a turn to the north, then again to the west, forming a peninsula of low-lying sand-dune, on which the fort was built. The mouth of the river, at the time of which we are speaking, was, at the point of the peninsula, guarded by the fort. That mouth is now silted up with sand, and the river finds its exit further south, through what was, in the Portuguese times, a salt-marsh. The fort and town stood only fifteen or twenty feet above the water's edge. De Couto describes the river as being a musket-shot wide in one place, and of volume sufficient to bear *catures* for three leagues up the country, and *almadias* much further.

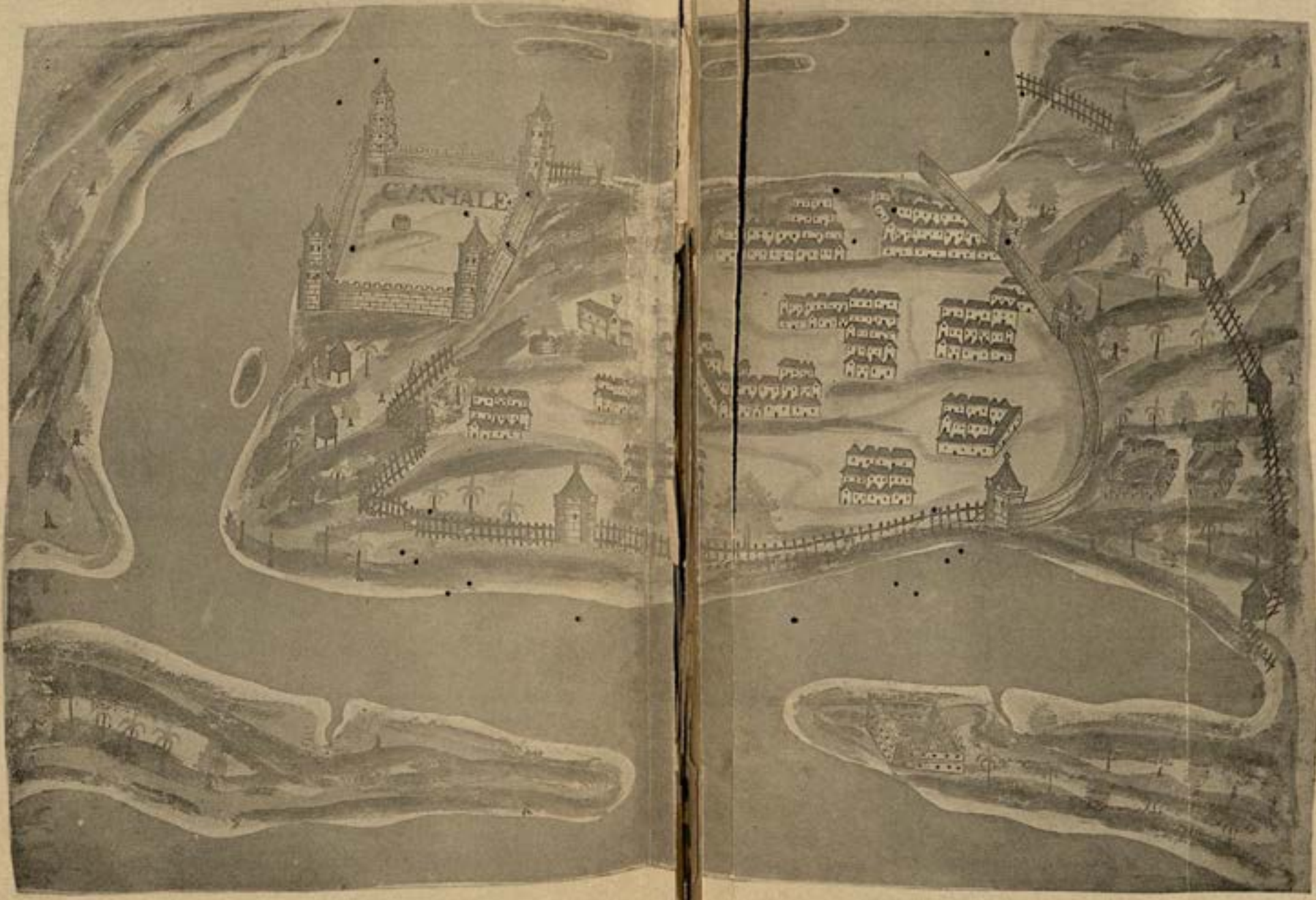
The fortress, as described by De Couto, was square, each side

apart from the common stock two portions for the support of two *sthánams* or dignities. Kunháli was the title of the head of the family (*múppa sthánam*); Kutti assan (*Kutti*, child + Hassan) that of the second in rank (*eḷuma sthánam*). The original family-house was at Kollam (Pyrard's *Coluotte*, from the inflected form *Kollatta*). They moved up the coast to Trikkodi, probably about the year 1525.

[1] Commonly called Coriche, a place on the sea-shore, two miles north of Trikkodi, in Meladi Amsam, Kurumbranâd taluk.

[2] The town of Putu paṭṭanam ("new town") was at the mouth of the Kóṭṭa river on its northern bank. This was a place of great trade in early times, and the Portuguese gave its name to the river. De Couto probably speaks in general terms when he says that the fort was built here. It was actually built on the southern bank of the river mouth, and as the fort (*Kótta*) became more famous than the opposite town, it in time gave to the river the name which it has since borne. Dr. Burnell (*Linsch.*, i, 73) erroneously identifies Kunháli's fort with Waddakuray (*Vadakarei*), which, as its name implies, was on the north bank.

[3] *I.e.*, the Márakkár's fort, *Márakkár* = *Márggakkáran*, from *Márgga*, "a way or law", and *Káran*, "a doer". The town was called *Kóṭṭakkal*, and the family name became *Kóttól* (corruption of *Kóṭṭayil*, "of or belonging to the Fort"). *Kóttakkal* is in the Tringngal Desam of Méladi Amsam, in Kurumbranád taluk.



KOTTAKKAL, the town and fortre ss of Kunhâli, the Malabar Corsair.

(From the Livro do Estado da I NDIA of P. Barretto de Resende, Sloane Collecti n, No. 197).

being of 500 paces, ending with the usual bastions at the corners. The walls were four paces thick. In the middle was the citadel, with its dungeon, where Portuguese captives were immured, and which, as De Couto sadly adds, "for our sins was seldom vacant." The fort walls had their parapets, port-holes, and loop-holes, with much good artillery; but the strongest bastion was that which guarded the bar of the river on the north-west of the town.[1]

Such is the description of the fortress as it was at the time of the Portuguese attack, and though it was much strengthened by Kunháli the younger, it is expressly stated by De Couto that the square fort was built by the founder of the town.

On the death of the elder Kunháli he was succeeded by his nephew, Mahomet Kunháli Márakkár,[2] who proved himself the most active and enterprising enemy the Portuguese had yet met with in India. "All these great defences", says De Couto, "served not only to make him secure, but also to make him so proud as to forget that he was but a vassal, and to hold himself out for a king. He created offices agreeable to that dignity, with pageantry of arms, and rode upon a white elephant, which is part of the insignia of the chief sovereigns of Asia. He also bore himself toward the Portuguese as his uncle had, only with far greater success, for besides taking many of our *fustas* and other small craft, he also seized a ship on her way from China, and afterwards a galeot. He also assisted with captains and soldiers the Queen of Olala, when she rebelled against us, and also the Melique at Chaul. And not only against us, but against the Malabars he acted in like manner, in such wise that, by reason of the great wealth which he thus accumulated, he deemed himself invincible."

Towards the close of the year 1591, the viceroy, Mathias de Albuquerque, who had arrived in India in May of that year, despatched two armadas from Goa, one under André Furtado de Mendoza against the Raja of Jaffna, the other under Alvaro de

[1] Mr. Logan says that the only remains now discernible are those of a rectangular fort, with bastions at the four corners. It is but a small place, 48 yards by 28. The people could not point out any other remains.

[2] Mahomet Cunhalé Marcà, as written by De Couto.

Abranches against Kunháli. Furtado, on approaching Ceylon found a fleet of Kunháli, of twenty-one galleys, under Cutimuza,[1] the nephew of Kunháli, "lording it over the whole Coromandel coast", as the historian expresses it. A battle was fought off the island Karativu, in which the corsairs were totally defeated, Cutimuza himself escaping on shore.[2]

Alvaro de Abranches meanwhile proceeded to the Malabar coast. At or before his arrival there, a Jesuit, Francisco da Costa, then a captive at Calicut, represented to the Samorin the advantages of a Portuguese alliance for the suppression of Kunháli. D. Alvaro was communicated with; the matter was referred to the viceroy, and at length a treaty was concluded, in pursuance of which all the Portuguese captives at Calicut were liberated, the Jesuits had free leave to preach in the Calicut dominions, and the Samorin himself laid the foundation of a Catholic church![3]

What happened between 1591 and 1597 does not clearly appear. The Portuguese were much occupied during this period with the war in Ceylon, and also on the Mozambique coast; and the next mention we have of the affairs of Kunháli is a repetition of the treaty negotiations a short time before the arrival of the viceroy, Francisco da Gama, when D. Alvaro de Abranches again appears as the Portuguese representative.

Francisco da Gama, Conde de Vidigueira, who arrived at Goa on the 22nd May 1597, and assumed office as sixteenth viceroy, was the grandson of the great Vasco, and a young man of thirty-one years of age. Faria y Souza says, and De Couto his official apologist admits, that he was unpopular from the first. The causes assigned are, first, that he was distant and haughty in his bearing, as, for instance, that he attended church concealed behind a curtain; secondly, that he was severe towards his official subordinates. It must, however, be pleaded on his behalf that he succeeded a notoriously lax governor, Mathias de Albuquerque, who "could not believe any man capable of lying". Da Gama's unpopularity pursued him to the close of his viceroyalty; but his government was on the whole deemed meritorious

[1] The *Consty Mousez* of Pyrard.

[2] *Dec. XI.* cap. xiii.

[3] *Dec. XI.* cap. xiv.

proved by his being, at a later period, appointed to a second term of office.[1]

Preparation was at once set on foot for several expeditions, and in particular an armada was equipped for the attack upon Kunháli, in conjunction with the Samorin's land forces. The viceroy appointed to the command of this armada his own brother, Dom Luiz da Gama, a young man of thirty, already nominated to the government of Ormuz. This appointment was received with open discontent among the Portuguese captains, but is defended by de Couto.

The despatch of this fleet was delayed, first, by the news which then arrived at Goa of the fateful appearance of the Dutch on the Mozambique coast, and, afterwards, by the capture by the Malabars of two ships, under Simão de Abreu de Mello, off Cape Jaquete in the North. These ships were attacked by eight prahus, and, after a desperate encounter, the Portuguese were slain to a man. Both events were received with consternation at Goa, and necessitated the immediate despatch of a squadron to avenge the disaster in the North, and another to protect Malacca and the Archipelago, which were truly surmised to be the goal of the Dutch.

Luiz da Gama did not leave Goa till the 13th November 1597, and then with a fleet diminished to the extent of the above-mentioned squadrons. He proceeded to Calicut, and there held a conference with the Samorin. The raja had to decide between supporting the Portuguese arms against his own vassels and race, a course which would probably lead to his own subjection to Portugal, or to witness the further growth of Kunháli's power, which along the whole coast was already overshadowing his own. He accordingly tried to better the terms previously made; in consideration of his assistance he demanded of Luiz da Gama a sum of 30,000 *pataçoes*, some companies of Portuguese soldiers, and half the spoil. On being reported to Goa, these terms were deemed to be inadmissible, and the Samorin's good faith being impeached, he

[1] His first viceroyalty ended 25th Dec. 1600; his second extended from the 19th Dec. 1622, to the end of Jan. 1627.

was declared an enemy, and the whole Malabar coast was laid under blockade. Luiz da Gama himself returned to Goa in April 1598.

The Samorin now altered his mind, owing, as it is said, to fresh presumption on the part of Kunháli, and to the persuasion of a Jesuit, P. Antonio, and declared himself ready to give active aid with his land forces. The viceroy forthwith ordered fresh ships to be equipped, and amongst others caused six boats, specially adapted for work on the Kotta river, to be built at Bassein. Twelve ships were sent to supplement the blockading fleet, and towards the end of 1598 the Samorin was encamped outside Kunháli's fort with a large army.

In December, Luiz da Gama again left Goa with three galleys and twenty fustas, which, added to the eighteen ships already at Kottakkal,[1] and the six river boats from Bassein, contained a force of about 1,500 men. At this juncture Archbishop Menezes was leaving Goa on his celebrated mission to the Malabar Christians, and he was requested by the viceroy to call at Kottakkal and to take counsel with the fleet and report the state of affairs. In January a council of the captains was held, at which the archbishop was present, and a vote was taken to attack the fort from the river by means of the boats. The results of the council were communicated to Goa, and were there approved. The archbishop proceeded to Cochin, whence he despatched three of four more ships to the assistance of the fleet, and did further service in restraining the Raja of Cochin from an invasion of the territories of an ally of the Samorin, which was intended to break the alliance of the latter with the Portuguese.

All was ready for the attack on the 3rd March 1599. Three hundred Portuguese, under Belchior Ferreira, were sent to join the Samorin, who was encamped on the landward side of the fortress; while Luiz da Silva, a great and experienced captain, was assigned to lead the attacking force of six hundred Portuguese against the river front. The 4th March was passed in confession and prepara-

[1] The fort (and town) of *Kottakkal* is erroneously named *Cunhale* by de Couto, and *Cunhaly* by Pyrard.

tion. It was now found that obstructions had been placed in the river channel by Kunháli, and after great efforts a narrow space was cleared, but only sufficient to allow one boat to pass. Doubts were entertained of the success of the plan adopted by the Council and endorsed at Goa, and on the night of the 4th some five or six captains sought an interview with the commander and induced him to advance the force under Luiz da Sylva, not by boats up the river, but by land from the Ariole[1] side, whence it was to cross by rafts (*jangádas*) to beneath the fort.

On that night a meteor was seen in the sky, which was deemed of evil presage to the Portuguese, and of good augury for Kunháli. A fire-signal for the combined attack from the land and river sides had been arranged, but by mistake it was given soon after midnight instead of shortly before dawn. Belchior Ferreira and his three hundred men, along with six thousand Nairs of the Samorin's army, accordingly rushed to the attack without their scaling-ladders and other engineering implements. Luiz da Sylva crossed the river by the aid of sixty boats. His instructions were to extend his force round the base of the fort, and so to join hands with Belchior Ferreira. The besieged were, however, ready, and opened a heavy fire upon the landing parties. A disaster which gave special poignancy to the memories of that day came upon the Portuguese at this early hour, for among the first to fall was the gallant leader, Luiz da Sylva himself, who had hardly set foot on land when he was shot through the head. Two other captains who succeeded to the command soon after shared his fate. The force never got into formation, each party being separately engaged. Some rushed back to the boats, and, overcrowding them, met their deaths by drowning, though a few succeeded in swimming across the river or down to the fleet. Those for whom this mode of flight was impossible kept up a desperate resistance till noon, by which time the flower of the Portuguese army was destroyed. Belchior Ferreira, meanwhile, had delivered his attack in good order, but at length, seeing the day was gone,

[1] A small territory under a raja on the right bank of the river inland. It is mentioned by Pyrard (*suprà*, vol. i, pp. 348, 352).

withdrew to his camp. All this time the obstructions in the river, and the deficiency of boats, had kept Luiz da Gama a mere spectator of the scene, unable either to direct or to succour. We have, from de Couto, a picture of him standing knee-deep in the mud of the river bar, endeavouring to embark succours in the boats, while ever and anon his attempts thus to rally his forces were frustrated by the sight of the fugitives, some in boats, some swimming down the river, and all shouting, "Treason! Treason!" The body of the brave Luiz da Sylva had been got into a boat, wrapped in his flag, which a captain had torn from its standard, in order to conceal the fact of his fall. This manœuvre, however, only added to the disorder of the soldiery, who found themselves of a sudden, and at the critical moment of the attack, without a competent leader and without colours. Thus ended the gravest disaster which had as yet befallen the Portuguese arms in India. De Couto gives a long list of noble fidalgos who fell that day, sacrificed by the incapacity of their leaders; and though he confidently asserts that the total loss was 230 men and no more, his own story of the events of the fight gives colour to the statement of Pyrard that the loss amounted to no less than 500 lives. It is further stated by de Couto, who talked the matter over with Kunháli and his lieutenant, Chinale, when they were in the Goa prison, that the loss of the besieged exceeded 500 men.

The sorrow and vexation of Luiz da Gama at the death of his brave captain and the miscarriage of the whole enterprise were unbounded. His next measures, however, were dictated by good sense and humanity. Leaving a small force to blockade the fort under Francisco de Sousa, and despatching the body of da Sylva to Cannanor, where it was temporarily interred with all available pomp,[1] he withdrew his shattered forces to Cochin, where the wounded received attention at the hospital and in the houses of the citizens.

The blockading force was insufficient, and Kunháli, who had thirteen galeots ready for action in his port, might easily have forced a way to sea, had not de Sousa, by a skilful ruse, led him

[1] It was afterwards conveyed to Portugal.

to believe that he was reinforced. The Samorin, on his side, said to have been at the head of 20,000 men, now thought he had an opportunity of seizing the fort by a *coup de main*, but the attempt proved fruitless.

The news of the disaster was not long in reaching Goa. "The Count Admiral (the Viceroy) was awaiting the news from Kottakkal with intense interest, when a rumour began to circulate that D. Luiz da Gama was lost with all his men. He concealed his great sorrow without appearing sad or melancholy in the presence of the people, because the news was not yet certain; when on the 15th of March the certainty came by letters from the Chief Captain, brought by the D. Luiz Lobo. This caused so great a shock in the city that men rushed forth like madmen from their houses to hear the truth, while the women crowded the windows, shrieking for news of their husbands, sons, and brothers." The viceroy maintained his composure with great courage, and called his council to meet him three days later, when the first paroxysms of sorrow should have subsided. When the meeting took place, the viceroy's first proposal was that he should be allowed to go against Kunháli in person, and he expressed his confidence that he would succeed in capturing the fortress and restoring the credit of the State. Whether from disbelief in his capacity, or, as they alleged, because the viceroy's presence was required at the capital, the council voted against the project, and it was then unanimously decided that the blockade should be strictly maintained (it being known that the besieged were in want of supplies), that so the Samorin would be held steadfast in continuing the siege by land. Thus it was hoped at the close of the south-west monsoon, when active operations could be resumed, the beleagured fort would be half conquered by starvation. A fresh treaty of alliance was then drawn up and sworn between the Samorin and Luiz da Gama at Cochin.[1] The unfortunate Luiz da Gama returned to Goa, and his brother was, no doubt, glad enough to get him forthwith shipped off to Ormuz, the

[1] The articles of this treaty are given at length by de Couto (*Dec. XII*, liv. II, cap. x).

captain of which fortress had lately died. His enemies, however, did not let him rest there; his misconduct of the expedition was made the ground of a legal charge, which, after such adjournments and delay as are usual in State trials, resulted in an unvalued acquittal.

During the next few months preparations went busily forward at Goa. The annual armada arrived from Portugal with a large complement of raw recruits. "There were men enough," says Faria y Souza, "but they wanted a commander: neither was such a one wanting, but that the envy of the Portuguese endeavoured to rob André Furtado of that glory, or rather their country of that advantage."[1] André Furtado de Mendoça was accordingly appointed to the post of chief captain of Malabar, but, whether from jealousy of this great soldier, or merely from a desire to retrieve his family honour, F. da Gama, at a council held in November, again pressed his claim to lead the army in person. The Archbishop and a majority of the council strongly opposed, and the fleet departed under its nominated leader. Furtado's force consisted of two galleys, twenty-two ships, five *manchuas*, and eight *perroches*, which, with a contingent from the Northern ports, and the blockading squadron already at the Kotta river, amounted to three galleys and fifty-four other ships, with a complement of about 2,000 men.

Furtado himself arrived at the Kotta river early in December, in advance of some portion of the expeditionary force. On the 16th the allied commanders held a ceremonial meeting at Kurichchi (*Correche*), the ancestral home of Kunháli's family, both Furtado and the Samorin being accompanied by large bodies of troops, who, drawn up in crescent formation around the place of meeting, fired salvos of artillery and musketry. The Samorin conducted Furtado to the seats prepared for them, and there, after the usual formal compliments, "they spoke of the mode of conducting the war, which the Samorin promised to prosecute with redoubled courage and vigour. He also told the chief captain that as soon as Kunháli saw the power of the armada then at his river, and

[1] Stevens' *Faria y Sousa*, iii, p. 113.

learnt that he (Furtado) was its captain, a general so renowned and feared by the Moors, forthwith he sent word to offer to capitulate on condition that his life and those of all the Moors with him should be spared, and that he, the Samorin, should come to the gate of the fortress to receive his surrender, and thus secure him from violence at the hands of his Nairs: all which he had conceded with the intention of putting him to death as soon as he got him into his hands: because this is the proper policy in dealing with traitors, especially when they are such that it is impossible to expect that they will act otherwise on every available occasion. And that at the time fixed for the surrender, he (the Samorin) sent his fencing-master with some Nairs to receive Kunháli, but the latter seeing that he, the Samorin, was not there in person, that, being a bad sign, sent out his Moors to the Nairs, between whom there arose a great strife, followed by a sharp conflict, in which many were wounded on both sides, and that now there was no confidence between them. Therefore it was necessary to continue the war against that tyrant, for which purpose he offered everything needful so far as his kingdom could afford, and that as an earnest of his goodwill and faith he would give whatever hostages the chief captain should require, because everything must be done according to his opinion and wishes. André Furtado de Mendoça thanked him for his offers, and made other suitable offers in return, whereupon they parted, the Samorin adding that he would send the Padre Francisco Rodrigues and his Regedores to his (Furtado's) galley, so that with them he might draw up such capitulations as he might deem necessary."

The first indication that Furtado was a party to the treachery and duplicity of the Samorin appears from the fact that he listened to the above speech of his ally without amazement or resentment; the second is the somewhat remarkable omission, in the settled capitulations (given in full by de Couto), of all mention of the mode in which the person of Kunháli was to be disposed of. One article, indeed, provided that the fortress is to be destroyed, and that the Samorin was to have one-half of all the money, merchandise, ships, artillery, and other arms which might be taken as loot; but, to judge from what followed, it would seem to have been

recognised that the intentions of the parties with regard to Kunháli himself were better to be understood than expressed.

Although Furtado himself had arrived in December, his entire force was not collected around the doomed fortress till the middle of February 1600. Meanwhile, in January, another cause of delay had arisen in the departure of the Samorin to attend a festival at Calicut. Time, however, was on the side of the besiegers, and desertions from the famine-stricken garrison began to be frequent. Although food was thereby saved to the remaining garrison, Furtado rather encouraged these desertions. As a commander he was careful of his men's lives, and as he felt assured of his chief prey, he desired to minimise his loss of life in case the capture should come about by assault.

During the absence of the Samorin, Furtado was by no means idle. His first task was to make a complete reconnaissance of the town from the landward side, for which purpose he landed on the shore to the south of the town, and marched on foot a distance of three leagues to the Samorin's camp. He then commenced active operations by taking measures to clear the river channel. In order to protect his boats engaged in this operation, he effected a landing on the northern or Ariole bank, and took up entrenched positions at several points, from which with heavy artillery he was able to bombard the town itself. In response to this move, Kunháli then advanced his works to the sands on his side of the river, but, before this counterwork could be made secure, Furtado crossed over and took it, throwing in a garrison of 300 men, who defied all attempts of the besieged to retake it. Meanwhile the heavy artillery on the Ariole bank, after playing for five days upon the bastion which guarded the town, had effectually destroyed it, and thus laid open the bazaar to assault. At this juncture the Samorin again appeared on the scene.

About the same time, viz., the beginning of March, letters arrived from the viceroy expressly forbidding the commander to attempt the town by assault; but Furtado, in view of the dubious conduct of the Samorin, foresaw that this might lead to difficulties, and, in case the garrison was in any way relieved, the capture might be delayed till after the coming monsoon. He therefore

laid the viceroy's letter before his council, and deliberately obtained their vote to disregard the Goa instructions and to sanction an immediate assault.

As soon as the Samorin returned Kunháli began to open negotiations with him, accompanying his petitions with rich presents. It was agreed between them that, on his delivering himself and 250 of his men into the hands of the Samorin and Belchior Rodrigues, their lives should be spared. Whether this Portuguese captain was a party to these capitulations does not appear: but it is the fact that when Kunháli and his 250 followers came out of a stockade to present themselves to the Samorin, the Portuguese, under Rodrigues, took advantage of them, and rushing in, set fire to the stockade, and all the houses and ships that were in or about it. Kunháli, believing that the Samorin had deceived him, retired within his fort.

The final assault on the town was ordered for the 7th March. F. da Sousa was to lead the attack on the Eastern wall with 400 men. A. Rodrigues Palhota was to assault the bastion on the river bar with 600 men, while Furtado himself was to join the Samorin on the land side, and with 1,200 men to overawe his wavering allies and carry the place. The Calicut Nairs, to the number of 6,000, responded to the call with some misgiving, their prince having promised quarter to the besieged. The town was soon taken, and its bazaars burnt. The fortress, or citadel, now alone remained, in which Kunháli still stood at bay, supported by a mere handful of starved retainers.

So far as the narrative of de Couto enables us to judge of the motives of the chief participators in the bad business which was now to be transacted, it appears that the Samorin desired the death of Kunháli, who, whether as vassal or rebel, wielded a power on the coast inconsistent with his own. On the other hand, Kunháli and his adherents were Moplahs, and thus connected by the ties of religion and blood with a large and powerful section of the Samorin's subjects, who were regarding the affair with half-disguised sympathy towards the besieged. Had the Samorin obtained possession of Kunháli's person, he would have had some difficulty in knowing what to do with him, for to put to death

the stoutest opponent of the Portuguese would have endangered his own throne. He could not depend on his own men to fight well enough to please the Portuguese, and if they did not, he feared that the Portuguese would take the whole spoil. He was, therefore, anxious to bring about a surrender, and while he would attain that end by promising quarter to Kunháli, at the same time promising the Portuguese to deliver him over to them, he would save his credit with his own subjects by arranging that at the surrender the Portuguese should make a show of seizing Kunháli by force. As for the Portuguese, it is sufficiently apparent that they were determined upon the death of the great corsair who had so long defied them, but were willing to accomplish that end by participation in the treachery of the Samorin, rather than expose their troops to the risks of an assault in which they might be deserted by their half-hearted allies. Their conduct in the matter would have extorted the warm approbation of their late master, Philip II.

How the event was in fact brought about had better be told in de Couto's own words:—"In his extremity of want Kunháli sent envoys to the Samorin, heartily beseeching him to have mercy upon him, and inquiring whether, if he should deliver himself up, the Samorin would promise to spare the lives of him and his followers: this the Samorin conceded, and the agreement was ratified by the *olas* of the parties. This negotiation the Samorin communicated to the chief captain (Furtado), begging him to confirm it, in which case he (the Samorin) would promise to give over to him Kunháli and some of his captains. Furtado made answer *that His Highness should act as he proposed, and that he was quite satisfied.*" Some days now elapsed during which the Samorin seems to have been seeking means of avoiding the *émeute* of his own troops which he expected would accompany the surrender of the brave man to whom he had made a worthless promise of life. At length, Furtado having threatened an assault, the Samorin and Kunháli arranged for the surrender to take place on the 16th of March.

On this day the Portuguese and Calicut forces were drawn up opposite to each other. Down the broad way thus formed by the

allied forces the remnants of the garrison marched forth. "First came 400 Moors, many of them wounded, with their children and wives, in such an impoverished condition that they seemed as dead. These the Samorin bade go where they pleased. Last of all came Kunháli with a black kerchief on his head, and a sword in his hand with the point lowered. He was at that time a man of fifty, of middle height, muscular and broad-shouldered. He walked between three of his chief Moors. One of these was Chinale, a Chinese, who had been a servant at Malacca, and said to have been the captive of a Portuguese, taken as a boy from a *fusta*, and afterwards brought to Kunháli, who conceived such an affection for him that he trusted him with everything. He was the greatest exponent of the Moorish superstition and enemy of the Christians in all Malabar, and for those taken captive at sea and brought thither he invented the most exquisite kinds of torture when he martyred them.

"Kunháli walked straight to the Samorin and delivered to him his sword in token of submission, throwing himself at his feet with much humility. Some say that the Samorin, inasmuch as he had promised him life, had secretly advised the Chief Captain, when Kunháli should deliver himself up, to lay hands upon him, as though he were taking him by force; and so the Chief Captain did. For, as the Samorin was standing by him, André Furtado advanced, and, seizing him by the arm, pulled him aside; while the other gave a great lurch so as to get free. As he was then at the brink of a hole, the Chief Captain was in risk of falling therein, had not his arm been seized by Padre Fr. Diogo Homen, a Religious of the Order of the Glorious Father S. Francisco, who stood on one side; Diogo Moniz Barreto, who was on the other, fell into the hole and skinned all his leg."

A tumult now arose among the Nairs, which the Samorin with difficulty suppressed. In the midst of it, Chinale and Cotiale, the pirate-chief's nephew, and the other captains, attempted to escape, but were seized and manacled by the Portuguese soldiery. Kunháli himself was led off under a strong guard to the Portuguese lines. Furtado, after entering the fort hand-in-hand with the Samorin, prudently gave up the place to be sacked by the

Nairs, and so diverted their minds from conscientious scruples. In return for this concession, a trivial one, as it turned out that all the valuables had been made away with, the Samorin gave over to the tender mercies of the Portúguese, besides the chief prisoner, forty of his chief adherents, all of whom afterwards suffered death in Goa prison by order of the viceroy. The artillery was divided between the captors, according to the previous engagements. Furtado's last act was to utterly destroy the fort, not leaving one stone upon another, and to burn the town, bazaars, and mosques to ashes.

On Saturday, the 25th March, Furtado set sail for Góa, and on his way put in to Cannanor. Here he was met by letters from the viceroy requiring him to proceed with his whole force to the destruction of Quilon, in the south. The enemies of da Gama suggest that he was animated by jealousy, and intended to deprive Furtado of his triumphal entry into Goa. A council of war was held, at which the captains unanimously refused to proceed to Quilon, and, for the second time in the course of the same expedition, the viceregal commands were set at naught.

On the 11th April Furtado appeared off the bar of Goa. Here he wrote to the Viceroy announcing his arrival, explaining that the condition of his fleet prevented him from proceeding forthwith to Quilon, but offering to proceed thither as soon as it could be refitted. Da Gama, though he may well have been jealous of one who had succeeded where his own brother had failed, was sufficiently prudent to conceal any such feelings, and himself directed the municipality to make preparations for the triumphal reception of the conqueror. A deputation of *vereadores* or aldermen waited upon him at Pangim and requested him to remain there for three or four days, until the preparations were complete.

A question now arose as to the part to be taken by Kunháli. The Viceroy, being informed that Furtado intended to have his illustrious captive marched in front of himself in the procession, requested the Archbishop, who was about to visit Furtado at Pangim, to state that this course would be inconvenient and contrary to precedent, all former captains, on like occasions, having sent their captives into the city from the bar before making their

own entry. To this Furtado replied that he would bring him to the quay, where the prison authorities should take him in charge.

"This matter arranged, the armada made its entry all decked with flags, accompanied by many other boats from the city, and from Bardes, which were so decorated with branches of trees that the river was almost encumbered with them. In the middle-way came the ships, firing their guns amid much noise of instruments, as well martial as of lighter sorts, such as drums, fifes, bagpipes and trumpets. Before mooring in front of the gallery of the viceroy (from which point to the Cathedral, where they were to go in procession to give thanks to Our Lord for His mercy in giving the victory which had been obtained over Kunhálí, the whole city was covered with green trees and branches, while at the city gates stood the vereador and the Archbishop in expectation), one of the ships of the armada advanced forward, conveying a servant of André Furtado, who, by his orders, landed on the quay four or five Moors, whom the mob there and then stoned to death, in defiance of all the authorities could do." The viceroy, fearing an outbreak when Kunháli himself should appear, sent the chief police magistrate (*Ouvidor Geral do Crime*) to Furtado's ship, with authority, as soon as the latter should land, to take Kunháli secretly off to the prison. To this demand Furtado made a reply which he desired to be conveyed to the viceroy, but the magistrate "behaved with so scant courtesy that, without returning to the Viceroy with Furtado's answer, he insisted upon compliance with his order." Furtado allowed his prisoner to be carried off, but he showed his indignation by refusing to land at the quay, or to take any further part in the triumph, and by proceeding to disembark privately at Madre de Dios, further up the river. De Couto says that he imagined, without any good cause, that the viceroy, out of envy, did not want to see him enter the city with his illustrious prisoner before him. The viceroy, on learning the cause of Furtado's behaviour, warmly reproved the magistrate for his discourteous conduct, and suspended him from office for two months. The people also were highly indignant at the treatment the popular hero had received, and the triumph for which the city had made so much preparation came to an abortive end by the

mob tearing down all the decorations and erections that had been set up. The religious ceremony of thanksgiving was performed some considerable time afterwards, when the excitement of the people had subsided, but it is not stated whether Furtado took any part in it.

The captives remained some time in Goa prison.[1] The delay in the proceedings against them was caused by a sudden illness of the viceroy. His first act on his convalescence was to send word to the judges to sentence Kunháli off-hand, but though a fair trial was never contemplated, the judges preferred to mask the perfidy of the State with the semblance of a legal process. A formal indictment was prepared, upon which Kunháli was sentenced to be beheaded, his body to be quartered and exhibited on the beach at Bardes and Pangim, and his head to be salted and conveyed to Cannanor, there to be stuck on a standard for a terror to the Moors. Before his end, he "was many times invited and entreated to seek entrance within the fold of Our Lord Jesus Christ, by many of the Religious of all the Orders, who laboured heartily to gain that soul, and add it to the flock of the Lord. Kunháli, however, refused to yield." At the execution, which was carried out on a scaffold raised in the large square in front of the vice-regal palace, and in view of an immense crowd of citizens, Kunháli bore himself with a dignity and courage which won the respect of his pitiless foes.

After some days Chinale was brought forth to share the fate of his leader. As the pious historian puts it, "a better lot awaited him," inasmuch as, before his execution, he yielded to the persuasion of the Fathers and became a Christian, and was baptised by the name of Bartholomew. After this ceremony, at which he "shewed pleasure and good will, he was conveyed to the scaffold, accompanied by the Holy Misericordia, and by the orphan children who were praying to God for him; and his body was buried in consecrated ground." Kunháli's nephew, and all the rest of the forty prisoners given over by the Samorin, some others of whom became Christians, were likewise put to death, "and not one that was taken escaped."

[1] More than for two days, as Pyrard was informed.

"So did the governor and rabble go hand in hand in murder and breach of faith," is the final comment of Faria y Souza.

By the murder of Kunháli and the destruction of his fortress, the privateering of the Malabars was no doubt for some time checked,[1] but the description of Pyrard and other travellers bears witness to the burning hatred of the Portuguese which pervaded the whole coast, and awaited only the advent of the Dutch and English to become a destroying flame. More than fifty years later a rock off the shore, perhaps that called in English times "Sacrifice Rock", was still known as "Kunháli's Rock",[2] and the Kótta river long continued to be the principal nest of the corsairs, who, friendly to the Dutch and English, continued to work havoc upon the waning commerce of Goa. The Malabar pirates were not finally extirpated until far on in the British period, when they had become pests indeed; but in their long struggle with the Portuguese it is impossible not to regard them as, to some extent, fighting the battle of free trade against monopoly, the battle of the whole coast against the Portuguese marts, and from this point of view to deny a certain measure of consideration, and even of sympathy. This sympathy may more freely be extended to Kunháli himself, notwithstanding his cruelties, which are probably much exaggerated by the Portuguese, as to one who, after a prolonged siege, the first stage of which closed with his conspicuous victory, was, at length, treacherously murdered in defiance of a well-understood capitulation.

The fame of Kunháli is still preserved in the neighbourhood of the Kotta river. The natives there tell that he was taken captive by the Portuguese and made a martyr (*sahîd*) at Goa. In a building which is said to contain the ashes of his uncle and his mother, is pointed out a memorial tomb erected to the memory of the great corsair.[3]

[1] *Liv. das Monç.*, i, p. 26. Doc. 6 Mar. 1605.

[2] See P. Vicenzo, lib. III, cap. v, and lib. v, cap. i.

[3] In the Jamát Mosque, about one hundred yards from the fort, is carefully preserved an encaustic tile, said to have been taken in the loot of a Portuguese church, and now the sole remaining trophy of the wars with the Portuguese. The tile has a cream-coloured ground, and in the centre an ornamental design in different shades of blue, still brilliant in colour.

D.

LIST OF KINGS OF THE MALDIVE ISLANDS SINCE THE CONVERSION TO MAHOMEDANISM.

THE following list has been extracted from the *Tárikh*, or "Chronicles" of the Kings of the Maldives, which, as above stated (vol. i, p. 309), have been kept for many centuries at Málé. The work of extraction has been done by one of the Naibs, a man of intelligence and conversant with Arabic, under the direction of a near relative of Ibrahim Dídí, the Prime Minister.

The Naib informs Mr. Bell that he has done his best to obtain with accuracy the dates of the succession of each Sultan and the length of his reign, but he admits that there may be some mistakes, inasmuch as the present *Tárikh*, which is about 150 years old, is only a copy of a preceding one, which itself was probably a copy of one still earlier, and so on.

Even to us, whose knowledge of Maldive dynasties is confined to a few short periods of the national history, several errors appear on the surface; but these appear to be mere errors of detail, accessions being misdated by a few years. They may, perhaps, be due to the recopying above referred to; or, again, the record may have been left unsupplied during years of trouble, after which the precise year was forgotten. Inasmuch, however, as we find in the list all the names of kings of whom we have extrinsic information, we must regard the record as on the whole trustworthy, and as a quite remarkable proof of the continuity of Maldive civilisation and government.

The number of Maldive monarchs since A.D. 1141, here appearing as eighty-six, should properly be reduced, Nos. 30, 40, and 44 being represented as reigning during two distinct periods, and Nos. 19 and 50 during three. Moreover, the *Tárikh* enters princes-consort as separate kings, see Nos. 20, 22, 25, 27.

The date of accession in each case has been converted from A.H. to A.D.

The *Tárikh* is said to record distinctly the accession of the first Moslem Sultan as having taken place in A.D. 1141, and his conversion to Mahomedanism twelve years later, in 1153. This date, if reliable, puts the conversion about fifty years earlier than the date suggested above at p. 460. But it is probable that in successive copyings of the *Tárikh* more errors may have accumulated than in the later parts of it; and in particular it is to be noted that Sultan Dáúd (No. 16) is here entered as the grandson of No. 12, while Ibn Batuta (*v. s.*, p. 460) states that he was grandson of the first convert. The Moorish traveller, indeed, is not to be implicitly trusted in matters of genealogy. The date given to Dáúd, 130½, corroborates his story to this extent, that the traveller may well have married that Sultan's grand-daughter in 1341, but he may be wrong in asserting that Dáúd was grandson, being, perhaps, a remoter descendant, of the first converted king.

MALDIVE KINGS.

No.	Accession. A.D.		Reigned. Yrs.	Mns.
1	1141	Muhammad-ul-ádil[1] . . .	25	—
2	116$\frac{5}{6}$	Muti Kalaminja[2] [Nos. 1 and 2, sons of sisters]	19	—
3	118$\frac{4}{5}$	'Ali	8	—
4	119$\frac{2}{3}$	Dinai Kalaminja [son of Fahihiriyá Mavákilage]	7	—
5	119$\frac{8}{9}$	Dihai Kalaminja [son of Fahihiriyá Mavákilage]	15	—

[1] This is the Sultan whom Maldive tradition, now at least, regards as the first convert to Mahomedanism, and to whom is given the title *Darumavanta* (*Dharmmavanta*), "the religious", "the just". If he be not identical with Ibn Batuta's "Ahmed Shanuraza", I should be inclined to trust Ibn Batuta, whose account of the inscription in the mosque is circumstantial (*v. s.*, p. 448). The *Tárikh* fixes the date of the conversion at the year 1153·4.

[2] The honorific *kalaminja* is stated to imply more than our "royal highness", viz., descent from royalty through both parents.

No.	Accession. A.D.		Reigned. Yrs.	Mns.
6	121$\frac{3}{4}$	Vadi Kalaminja [son of Fahihiriyá Mavákilage]	20	—
7	123$\frac{2}{3}$	— Kalaminja [son of Fahihiriyá Mavákilage]	25	—
8	125$\frac{7}{8}$	Hudai Kalaminja [son of Hiriyá Mavákilage]	7	—
9	126$\frac{3}{4}$	Aim Kalaminja [son of Hirati Kabádikilage]	2	—
10	126$\frac{5}{6}$	Hili Kalaminja	1	6
11	126$\frac{7}{8}$	— Kalaminja	c —	9
12	126$\frac{8}{9}$	Muhammad-údú Kalaminja	9	—
13	127$\frac{7}{8}$	'Alí Kalaminja [son of No. 12]	10	—
14	128$\frac{7}{8}$	Yusuḥ Kalaminja [younger brother of No. 13]	7	—
15	129$\frac{3}{4}$	[1] [son of No. 14]	8	—
16	130$\frac{1}{2}$	Dáúd[2] [son of No. 14]	5	—
17	130$\frac{4}{7}$	Umaru-víru[3]	35	—
18	134$\frac{9}{4}$	Shihab-ud-dín[4] [son of No. 17]	8	—
19	134$\frac{7}{8}$	Malaka Rehendi Kambádikilage[5] [daughter of No. 17]	17	—

[1] The course of succession from this point down to No. 23 being so fully corroborated by Ibn Batuta, we can have no difficulty in supplying this vacancy from his narrative, by the name Saláh-ud-dín Sálih-al-Banjáli, the father of No. 17 and the grandfather of No. 19 (*v. s.*, p. 449).

[2] Ibn Batuta married the great-granddaughter of this Sultan in 1343 or 1344 (*v. s.*, p. 460). Thus, either he succeeded somewhat late in life, or, as seems probable from the erroneous date given to No. 19, his accession is here post-dated. Possibly he ought to be No. 15, as Ibn Batuta seems to imply that Jálál-ud-dín 'Omar immediately succeeded Saláh-ud-dín (*v. s.*, p. 449).

[3] The Jalál-ud-dín 'Omar of Ibn Batuta (*v. s.*, p. 449), *Umaru* being the Maldivian form of 'Omar.

[4] Ibn Batuta, who here corroborates the *Tárikh* satisfactorily, says he succeeded as a minor, and that the Vizier Abd' Allah espoused his mother and governed in his name. The same vizier afterwards married the daughter and became Sultan No. 22. Shihab-ud-dín, who seems to have misbehaved himself, was deposed, exiled, and afterwards put to death (*v. s.*, p. 449).

[5] The *Khadíja* of Ibn Batuta (*v. s.*, p. 449), the name here given being probably her Maldivian name. As Ibn Batuta found her on the throne in A.D. 1343, her date of accession should be some half-dozen years ante-dated. All we know of this queen will be found in Ibn Batuta's account.

No.	Accession. A.D.		Reigned. Yrs.	Mns.
20	136⅔	Muhammad Jamil[1] [husband of No. 19] .	1	—
21	136¾	Malaka Rehendi Kambádikilage[2] [No. 19] .	10	—
22	137⅛	Abdallah Kilage[3] [husband of preceding] .	3	—
23	137⅐	Malaka Rehendi Kambádikilage [No. 19] .	3	—
24	137⁹⁄₅₀	Malaka radafati Kambáḍikilage[4] [daughter of No. 17]	—	4
25	137⁹⁄₅₀	Muhammad[5] [husband of No. 24] .	4	—
26	138¾	Malaka dáyin Kambádikilage [daughter of No. 25]	4	—
27	138⅞	Abdullah [husband of No. 26] . .	—	—
28	1388	Usmán	—	—
29	1388	Hasan	10	—
30	139⅞	Ibráhim [son of No. 29] . .	—	4
31	139⅝	Husain	10	—
32	140⅝	Nasr-uḍ-dín . . .	3	—
33	141⁹⁄₁	Hasan	—	9
34	141½	Ísá [younger brother of No. 33] . .	—	3
35	141½	Ibráhim [No. 30] . . .	8	9
36	14½⅛	Usmán [son of No. 29] . .	—	3
37	142⁹⁄₁	Muhammad álim [son of Házin (Boḍu baḍéri) Yúsub], ...	—	11

[1] Jamál-ud-dín, according to Ibn Batuta. The entry of this vizier-consort as a separate Sultan seems to imply that queens of the Maldives ceased both to reign and to govern on their marriage. See also Nos. 22, 25, and 27. But this is not confirmed by Ibn Batuta, who says distinctly that orders were promulgated in the name of the queen, and it seems that in the mosque service she alone was prayed for by name (*v. s.*, pp. 449-50).

[2] If the date of re-accession here given is intended to coincide with the death of No. 20, it is wrong by some nineteen years, Jumál-ud-dín having died in December 1344 (*v. s.*, p. 465).

[3] Here the discrepancy amounts to twenty-eight or twenty-nine years, Ibn Batuta representing this vizier as marrying the queen forthwith on the death of her previous consort.

[4] As the *Táríkh* states this queen to be sister of the preceding queen, she may be identified with one of the two sisters mentioned by Ibn Batuta under their Arabic names Maryam and Fátimah (*v. s.*, p. 449).

[5] Son of No. 20, according to Ibn Batuta, married to one of Queen Khadija's sisters (*v. s.*, p. 467).

No.	Accession. A.D.		Reigned Yrs.	Mns.
38	1420/1	Yúsub [son of No. 29]	23	—
39	1442/3	Abú Bakr [son of No. 29]	—	7
40	1442/3	Háji Hasan [son of No. 39]	25	—
41	1467/8	Sayyid Muhammad	—	1
42	1467/8	Háji Hasan [No. 40]	1	—
43	1467/8	Muhammad [son of No. 40]	13	—
44	1480/1	Hasan [son of No. 43]	—	1
45	1480/1	Umaru [son of No. 38]	·4	—
46	1484/5	Hasan [son of No. 45]	2	—
47	1486	Hasan [No. 44]	4	—
48	1488/90	Sheikh Hasan [nephew of No. 39]	1	9
49	1491/2	Ibrâhim [son of No. 46]	—	8
50	1492/3	Muhammad [son of No. 45]	—	9
51	1492/3	Yúsub [son of No. 45]	—	—
52	1492/3	'Ali	2	3
53	1494/5	Muhammad [No. 50]	15	—
54	1509/10	Hasan [son of No. 51]	2	—
55	1511/2	Sherîf Ahmad-ul-Makká[1]	2	9
56	1513/4	'Alí	—	9
57	1513/4	Muhammad [No. 50]	16	—
58	1528/9	Hasan [son of No. 57]	20	—
59	1548/9	Muhammad	2	4
60	1559/1	Hasan[2]	2	—
61	1551/2	Abú Bakr	4	—
62	1555/6	'Ali[3]	—	—
63	1556/7	Andiri-Andiri[4]	17	—
64	1573/4	Muhammad Takurufán-ul-álam[5]	12	6

[1] An Arab, who perhaps was appointed to the office of Kázi, and then seized the government.

[2] This is Pyrard's *Assan*, who on abdication and flight to Cochin became Dom Manoel, the first of the line of titular Christian kings.

[3] The rival of Hasan, slain by the Portuguese.

[4] The interim half-caste governor under the Portuguese. The *Târikh* does not call him "Sultan", but "Captain", and adds after his name, Nasóra [? Nazarene].

[5] The elder of the two brothers who threw off the Portuguese yoke.

No.	Accession. A.D.		Reigned. Yrs.	Mns
65	158$\frac{4}{5}$	Ibráhim[1] [son of No. 64] . .	14	—
66	159$\frac{8}{9}$	Husain Famudéri kilage[2] . .	22	—
67	16$\frac{19}{20}$	Muhammad Imád-ud-dín[3] . .	29	—
68	164$\frac{8}{9}$	Ibráhim Iskandar [son of No. 67] . .	39	6
69	168$\frac{6}{7}$	Muhammad [son of No. 68] . .	4	1
70	169$\frac{0}{1}$	Muhammad Moyiddín [nephew of No. 68] .	1	—
71	169$\frac{1}{2}$	Muhammad Shams-ud-dín al-Hamávi[4] .	—	5
72	169$\frac{1}{2}$	Muhammad [son of Hájí 'Alí] . .	8	5
73	170$\frac{0}{1}$	'Ali	—	9
74	170$\frac{1}{2}$	Hasan [son of No. 73] . . .	—	—
75		Ibráhim Mulhír-ud-dín . . .	—	—
76		Muhammad Imád-ud-dín[5] . .	17	4
77	172$\frac{0}{1}$	Ibráhim Iskandar [son of No. 76] . .	29	2
78	17$\frac{49}{50}$	Muhammad Mukarram Imád-ud-dín [son of No. 76]	2	10
	175$\frac{3}{4}$	[Málé taken by the Malabars: Interregnum of six years.]		
79	17$\frac{59}{60}$	Gházi Hasan Izz-ud-dín	7	—

[1] The Sultan of Pyrard's time. If the term of his reign is c_____t, his accession is antedated some eight years.

[2] The date here is wrong by about eight years. Ibrahim was killed in February 1607. It is somewhat difficult to explain from Pyrard's narrative who this No. 66 was, for the traveller states, on reports which reached him at Goa, that after the Bengal invasion four chiefs struggled for the throne, and that their pretensions were at length suppressed by Ali Raja of Cannanor, who placed Ranabadéri Takuru, otherwise called Máfilafurhi Rasgefánu, on the throne as his vassal (*v. s.*, vol. i, pp. 320-1). But according to Mr. Bell's information the Maldivian archives do not acknowledge that this prince ever ruled the Maldives as a whole, and, accordingly, he does not appear in this list. It would seem probable, therefore, that this No. 66 was the son of the chief called by Pyrard *Pammedery Calogue* (vol. i, p. 255), which son was a distinguished person in Pyrard's time, and very friendly towards him.

[3] Described as the son of a daughter (Aminá) of a daughter (Maryam) of 'Alí, the elder brother of Muhammad (No. 64).

[4] This king, like No. 55, was an Arab, of Hamaví in Yemen.

[5] His date of accession is probably 1704, as he died late in 1721, having reigned seventeen years.

No.	Accession. A.D.		Reigned. Yrs.	Mns.
80	176$\frac{6}{7}$	Muhammad Ghiyás-ud-dín [son of No. 77] .	7	—
81	177$\frac{3}{4}$	Muhammad Shams-ud-dín[1] . .	—	—
82		Muhammed Muiz-ud-dín [son of No. 79] .	—	—
83	177$\frac{8}{9}$	Hájí Hasan Nur-ud-dín [son of No. 79] .	21	—
84	179$\frac{8}{9}$	Muhammad Muín-ud-dín [son of No. 83]	37	—
85	183$\frac{4}{5}$	Muhammad Imád-ud-dín [son of No. 84] .	49	—
86	188$\frac{1}{2}$	Ibráhim Nur-ud-dín [son of No. 85] .	—	—

[1] The *Fáruna Kalegefana* of Christopher (*Trans. Bo. Geo. Soc.*, i, p. 73); but he is said to have been the son of a younger brother of No. 79, and therefore was cousin, not uncle (as Christopher says), of Nos. 82 and 83.

E.

DEDICATORY EPISTLE

Prefixed to the Treatise of the Animals, Trees, and Fruits, in a portion of the 3rd Edition of the original Voyages.[1]

TO

MR. GUILLAUME

LUSSON, COUNCILLOR OF THE KING,

In his Council of State and Privy Council, and First President in his Court of Money.

MONSEIGNEUR,

I may thank God for this, among other things, that after so many ills and calamities suffered in my voyage to the Indies, he hath vouchsafed to me one blessing on my return home, namely that I have thus had the opportunity of acquaintance with many persons distinguished for honour and merit. Among whom you are one of the first, for, being endowed with a mind inclined to all things praiseworthy and of good report, you have not only taken pleasure and commended the recital of my story which I made to you, but also have prompted and encouraged me to commit the same to writing, and approved the publication thereof. What is more, you have of your grace given me such assistance in my extreme

[1] It is in Mr. Bell's, but not in my copy. A transcript reached me after the sheets comprising the Treatise were already printed off. It adds another name to the list of Pyrard's patrons.

misery and affliction that I can say that, after God, you are the cause that I still live and breathe. This hath rendered me under such obligations to you that I could never acquit myself therein, did you not deign to accept my gratitude, goodwill, and affection in your service, the which I am resolved to testify in all places and at all times. Wherefore I offer to you this little treatise which I have separated from the rest of my story, to the end that here may appear to better advantage and with less confusion the rarities and singularities of those distant parts whereto my fortune hath led me. Herein, too, will be seen the admirable effects of God's Providence, which hath with such diversity distributed the good things of his favour, according to the diversity of countries. May it please you, therefore, to accept in good part this offering of mine, as proceeding from one who heartily, as well as by duty and obligation, acknowledges himself,

MONSEIGNEUR,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

FRANÇOIS PYRARD.

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